

GUACANAGARI PONTIAC BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA CAPTAIN PIPE KEOKUK
GUATIMOTZIN LOGAN SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN CORNPLANTER BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS
SAMOSET RED JACKET COLORADAS
MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP TECUMSEH SITTING BULL
UNCAS OSCEOLA CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG SEQUOYA GERONIMO
SHABONEE



TO PERPETUATE THE HISTORY
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PEOPLE REPRESENTED BY THE
ABOVE CHIEFS AND WISE MEN.
THIS COLLECTION HAS BEEN
GATHERED BY THEIR FRIEND
EDWARD EVERETT AYER

AND PRESENTED BY HIM
TO
THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY
1911

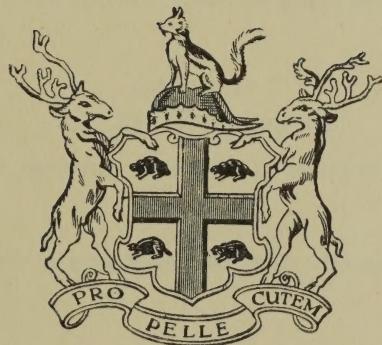
THE HUDSON'S BAY
RECORD SOCIETY

XII

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

ISHAM'S OBSERVATIONS
AND NOTES

1743—1749



LONDON
THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

*This copy is No. 6 Y_A of a limited Edition
which is issued only to subscribers to
The Hudson's Bay Record Society*

JAMES ISHAM'S OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY, 1743

AND

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON
A BOOK ENTITLED
A VOYAGE TO HUDSONS BAY
IN THE DOBBS GALLEY, 1749

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

E. E. RICH, M.A.

FELLOW OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

ASSISTED BY

A. M. JOHNSON

ARCHIVIST, HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

WITH A FOREWORD BY THE CHAIRMAN

Published by

THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

for

THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

1949

Ayer

168.6

H 89

v. 12

All rights reserved

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD BY SIR CAMPBELL STUART, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., LL.D., CHAIRMAN	xi
INTRODUCTION	xiii
GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, 1742-44	I
OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY	3
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON A BOOK ENTITLED A VOYAGE TO HUDSONS BAY IN THE DOBBS GALLEY &C 1746 & 1747 WRITTEN BY HENRY ELLIS'S	197
APPENDIX A: JAMES ISHAM'S JOURNAL, 1746-47	241
APPENDIX B: INDIANS	309
APPENDIX C: BIOGRAPHICAL	318
INDEX	341

ILLUSTRATIONS

CALUMET	<i>page</i> 83
A SKIN TENT	89
LOG TENT	91
INDIAN BURIAL	94
A SWEATING HOUSE	97
CRADLE AND BACK BOARD	105
INSTRUMENTS FOR MAKING BELTS, ETC.	107
INDIAN BOW	118
A RAIL	<i>facing page</i> 124
RABBIT SNARE	<i>page</i> 129
INDIAN SNOW SHOES	137
AN INDIAN CANOE	139
A BEAVER TAIL	145
HUNTING BEAVER	148
A BLADDER	152
A DEER SNARE	153
SETTING STEEL TRAPS	159
GUN TRAP	161
LOG TRAP	163

FOREWORD

IT is fitting that this volume should contain an introduction by the General Editor of this Society and a Foreword by the Chairman of the Society, for this is the last volume to be published in collaboration with the Champlain Society. In future the Hudson's Bay Record Society will indeed retain and value the good wishes of the Champlain Society but it will produce and publish its volumes independently. The Foreword to the present volume is therefore an opportune place to emphasise the deep debt which this Society and the world of historical scholarship owes to the Champlain Society.

The twelve volumes already produced by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, and the other volumes in preparation and under discussion, show at once the value of the material available and the adequacy of the system which has been set up to present that material to the public. Here, in the volume which ends the old arrangement, may be seen the interest and the importance of the documents, the ability of this Society to present the documents, and the wider issues involved. It is clear that it is impossible to write the history of Canada without recourse to the Hudson's Bay Company's documents; it is equally impossible to write the history of the Company from the Company's documents alone, and this book makes clear the manner in which external and already known documents take on a new meaning in the light of the Company's archives, whilst documents from the Company's archives, in their turn, assume their real significance only against the background of external material.

FOREWORD

The co-operation of the Champlain Society, and the willing help of Canadian scholars, have materially helped to develop the high standards of the Society in dealing with these complex historical problems. The present volume, and indeed the whole series of publications to date, emphasise the success which has been achieved.

This Foreword is therefore an opportunity for me to bid farewell and to express our deep gratitude to the Champlain Society, and at the same time to remind members that in this volume they have the evidence not only of the importance of the work of Hudson's Bay Record Society but of the clear ability of the Society to serve them.

CAMPBELL STUART

Chairman

Hudson's Bay Record Society

INTRODUCTION

I

THE COMPANY UNDER SIR BIBYE LAKE

ALTHOUGH his service with the Hudson's Bay Company was to bring him to the forefront in stirring times, James Isham's character and career bear the mark of care and sobriety rather than of enterprise and authority. As an obscure lad of only sixteen years he was sent to York Fort in 1732 to be "Employed as a writer and to be instructed in keeping the accounts". From York, Thomas Macklish promised that his best advice should not be wanting; and the youth proved amenable, for after a year's experience Macklish reported him as a "Very Sober Young Man, and has made very good Improvement, Considering the time he has been here". Four years later, when his first contract was almost expired, the predominant impression left by Isham on his chief at York was still that of a "very Sober, honest, & Diligent, young man".¹

Strict sobriety and attention to accountancy were not normal virtues among the Company's servants in the early eighteenth century or, indeed, in any service or walk of life at that period. These were the days when common servants, with wages of perhaps fifteen or twenty pounds a year, habitually got from four to ten gallons of brandy sent to them in the annual shipments from England, when the Committee was forced to take a firm stand against immoderate drinking and sales of spirits between men, even to the extent of sealing off the consignments of liquor in the outward shipments and of offering bribes to informers. Liquor was

¹ [Hudson's Bay Company Archives], A. 6/5, fo. 58; A. 11/114, fos. 64, 68d., 79. Subsequent classification numbers refer to the Hudson's Bay Company archives.

accepted as a worse enemy than the climate, and drunkenness was recognised by the Committee as capable of upsetting even the defence plans of the posts, whilst there was no doubt that the destruction of Moose Factory by fire in 1737 was due to the prevalence of drunkenness there.¹

Yet the quiet, unobtrusive virtues of Isham appeared well matched in the general character and direction of the Company into whose service he entered. In the seventeen-twenties and -thirties the Company was prospering as never before in its first half-century of existence.² Under the governorship of Sir Bibye Lake it made a good recovery from its precarious position at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. The Company had been consulted as to the terms to be demanded of the French at the Treaty of Utrecht and ultimately Hudson Bay and Newfoundland had been assigned to Great Britain, with commissioners appointed to define the boundaries. A memorandum of damages suffered by the Company at the hands of the French, to the value of £100,543 13s. 9d., was submitted to Lord "Bullingbrook" at the Cockpit Tavern and the British negotiators were fully sympathetic to the Company's case—though the Bishop of London was more than a little evasive when a deputation from the Company tried to call on him "to Return him the thanks of this Company for the great care he had taken of them by the Treaty of Utrecht".³

York Fort was restored by the French and in 1714 Governor Knight and Deputy-Governor Kelsey sailed out with commissions from Queen Anne, and with an order from Louis XIV to Monsieur Jérémie the French commander there, to take possession of York and all other places within the Strait and Bay of Hudson.⁴ The Company, with a salutary order to

¹ A. 6/8, fos. 4, 6, 13d.; A. 6/6, fo. 15d.

² D. MacKay, *The Honourable Company* (New York, 1936), p. 339. W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1912), II, pp. 235–7.

³ A. 1/33, fos. 4, 6, 75d., 81d., 85, January 11, February 1, 1711; November 20, 1713; March 5, April 7, July 30, 1714. Beckles Willson, *The Great Company . . .* (London, 1900), I, 246 n., refers to this as the Treaty of Ryswick.

⁴ A. 1/33, fo. 99d.

Knight to train his men to arms and a reminder that the heavy disasters had been incurred "Dureing your Memory through Cowerdize and Neglect",¹ set about to recover its trade and re-establish its position.

During this period of recovery the dominant personality was undoubtedly the Governor, whose character pervaded not only the London Committee meetings but also the councils of the remote forts on the Bay; a subtle, reasonable influence, apparently unenterprising except in matters of accountancy but yet keen, shrewd and utterly reliable.

A member of the Middle Temple, Bibye Lake had acquired his first £1,000 worth of stock as early as 1709, when he was probably in his twenty-fifth year; he purchased from his father Thomas Lake, also a Templar, and Deputy-Governor of the Company in the year 1710-11. Bibye, who successfully claimed a baronetcy vacated by the decease of his uncle, and who mingled with his interest as a Templar and as an Adventurer of England trading into Hudson's Bay the duties of a Sub-Governor of the Africa Company, became Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1712. He held that office without break until his death in 1743—a longer tenure than any before or since.

As Governor, Sir Bibye represented the Company during the Utrecht negotiations, and it was certainly his approach and personality, at something less than thirty years of age, which led Lord Bolingbroke to write that "There is nothing more persistent in the world than these claims of the Hudson's Bay Company. We are desirous greatly to see all these smug ancient gentlemen satisfied".² His air of placid respectability was undoubtedly an asset to Sir Bibye and to his Company; but there was a great deal more to him than that. For he steered the Company safely through the South Sea Bubble period and came out of it with an enhanced reputation and a handsome gratuity. He already had the fullest confidence of his stockholders. He was sent to Paris in 1719 to brief the

¹ A. 6/3, fo. 124d.

² Willson, *The Great Company*, I, 256.

Commissioners there for their negotiations with the French, and was paid all his expenses and a handsome gratuity,¹ and when in 1718 the Company decided that "Takeing into Consideration the State of the Company Both as to theire Cash as Likewise to theire Effects both at home and abroad" they could safely return to the payment of dividends, and started the resumption with a payment of ten per cent, they recorded that the new and happy state of affairs was "oweing to the good management of the Governor Sir Bibye Lake".² Therefore when he came before them in the ebullient Bubble period of 1720 with a conception that the Company's existing stock was "to small to Enlarge the Trade and to make it more A Nationall Interest" he was not only heard with respect and followed without criticism but was given the generous sum of £1,000 to dispose "to such person or persons he shall thinke fitt for Theire Greate services done the Company without any account to be given for the same".³

His proposals, which were accepted, were that the existing stock of 315 shares of £100 each should be enlarged to 945 such shares, equal in value at £94,500 to the "Quick and dead stock and Lands" of the Company. This £94,500 was then to be raised to a value of £378,000 by a further £283,500 which was to be raised by existing members and "engrafted" on the existing stock; only existing members were to be allowed to subscribe, paying in ten per cent. of their subscription every three months until they were fully paid up. The prospect sounded so alluring to the proprietors that they forthwith voted a gratuity of five hundred guineas to the Governor, on the ground that he had been three times overseas on the Company's service, and of two hundred guineas to the Deputy-Governor.⁴

This was in August and early September, 1720. During the autumn the position on the London money market steadily deteriorated and in November the Governor appeared before a General Court to "acquaint" the proprietors that "the

¹ A. 1/117, fos. 28d., 29, 32. ² A. 1/116, fo. 28d.; A. 1/117, fo. 2d.

³ A. 1/118, fos. 19d., 20d. ⁴ A. 1/118, fos. 21d.-24.

Posture of Affaires in Generall being much Altered since the Resolutions the Comitte had Agreed to the 29th of August Last... The Comitte did not Thinke it convenient at Presant to proceed any farther thereupon otherwise then that the Stock should be Trebled, and every one hundred pounds stock made Three ".¹ In addition, those proprietors who had signed for, and had paid in their first ten per cent. for, some of the "Enlarged" stock which had been projected were given stock for their subscriptions since "by Reason of the Present Scarcity of moneys and Deadness of Publick Credit It would be to the Advantage of the Members, that A Certaine Quantity of Stock be given them, in Lieu of theire said Subscriptions ".²

So the affair ended, with an increase of about £10,000 in the working capital of the Company, and with each proprietor credited with £30 for each £10 by him paid in, and entitled to draw dividends on the enhanced amount.³ In future the Company would have to pay dividends on £103,950, but the trade was in such a condition as to make that a reasonable commitment. The outcome was one on which the proprietors could congratulate themselves, and it greatly enhanced the Governor's prestige. But it had been a very near thing, and had the Company gone further with the watering of its stock before the South Sea Bubble burst it would have been committed to such an extent that either it must have foundered or the character of the Company must have been fundamentally altered.

Governor Sir Bibye emerged from this episode with his authority unimpaired. There was no hint of sharp practice ever dropped; he had but drifted on the high tide of confidence as the wisest heads of London had drifted; and he was himself one of the wisest of them all. His stock transactions within the Hudson's Bay Company show both his versatility and the

¹ A. 1/119, fo. 2.

² Ibid., fo. 7-7d.

³ Ibid., fo. 25. See also *Report from the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the Trade carried on there* (London, 1749), p. 261. This will be referred to hereafter as "Parliamentary Report, 1749".

multiplicity of his interests, and the complete trust which the Company placed in him. He was constantly buying and selling stock; the climax of these operations was probably when he sold £4,000 worth in May, 1740, and re-purchased the same amount in July of that year. The purpose of these transactions was probably not to gain by buying cheap and selling dear but to hold the maximum amount for dividend and for elections, and then to free his money for other operations. For Sir Bibye was constantly in need of ready money. His estate in Essex was early mortgaged to the Company, and towards the end of his career he borrowed £11,000 for the purchase of a further estate in Derbyshire—a transaction which it took his widow and his heir (Sir Atwill Lake, Deputy Governor and later Governor of the Company) some years to clear up. He pledged South Seas and other stocks with the Company and was constantly borrowing from the accumulated surpluses, sometimes on security, sometimes without, sometimes at interest, sometimes without. He was habitually allowed to anticipate the payment of his dividends, and it is clear that in him the Company had a Governor who gave it his best services, to whom it was a serious source of income and goodwill, not a mere gentlemanly incursion into adventure in the North.¹

That the Governor emerged from these somewhat complicated financial manoeuvres without any suspicion says much for him. It does not imply that the Committee or the proprietors were in any way apathetic or careless of either their interests or their reputation. The period is clearly marked by the minute attention to detail and the constant attendance of the Committee, and by the shrewdness with which the general policy of the Company was laid down.

One aspect of this close attention to the Company's affairs was the unremitting care with which the balances in hand were

¹ Minute Books, *passim*, e.g. A. 1/120, fo. 38–38d., May 15–17, 1723; A. 1/36, p. 34, April 27, 1743. The loan for the Derbyshire estate was originally made at 3 per cent. for three years on July 4, 1734 (A. 1/122, p. 145), but the debt was still not cleared off in 1743.

invested and re-invested at this time: Governor Sir Bibye was usually ready to take up some of the accumulation, but he also advised the Company in a keen policy of investment, and purchases and sales of South Sea Annuities (in the names of members of the Committee) and of East India stocks of various denominations occur frequently in the Minutes.¹

A further, and most kindly, sign of the same attention and of the prosperity which accompanied it was the generous treatment meted out to servants and dependants. Not unnaturally, the Governor ranked as first claimant, and apart from various gratuities which were voted to him during his tenure of office he benefitted by the increase of "Attendance money" in 1726 and its further increase in view of the "prosperous State of the Company's Affairs" in 1729. In that year the Governor was decreed £200 a year, the Deputy-Governor £150 a year and each Committee-man £100, and the Governor was also awarded an extra hundred guineas for performing the duties of the Deputy-Governor since John Merry's death in office.² Sir Bibye, however, was by no means the sole beneficiary of this kindly policy. The comfortable spirit of the period may also be seen in the gift of gratuities to servants, in the introduction of shares in the profits of the trade to stimulate enterprise by ships' captains and others, in the payment of charity to Radisson's widow and to Kelsey's widow and children, and perhaps in its most kindly form in the vote of the cost of a horse for Thomas Bird, the Secretary, since the Committee wished him to enjoy the benefits of riding on account of his health. Unfortunately he died within a very few weeks of the vote.³

The happy mixture of sobriety, shrewdness and kindness which emanated from the Governor, pervaded the Committee and penetrated to the factors—and of which James Isham was a significant example—brought with it, and depended upon, a real prosperity. The Governor's financial machinations were

¹ A. 1/120; A. 1/121; A. 1/122, *passim*.

² A. 1/121, fos. 1, 149, 155.

³ A. 1/121, fos. 140, 163; A. 1/122, fos. 122, 305, 318.

xx OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

not the main source of the resumed dividends, and the insurance business (for providing capital to launch apprentices into the world) whereby the Company had tided itself over the war period was now abandoned.¹ The dividends came straight from the fur trade. With beaver fetching a steady 4s. a pound at the London fur sales² the Company settled down to export goods to an annual value of £5,000 to £6,000 (of which trade goods formed about 75 per cent.) and to import furs worth from £22,000 to £30,000 a year.³ This trade certainly allowed them to pay their wages-bill, to maintain their factories, and to afford their dividends and gratuities without any serious risk of running the Company into bankruptcy.

Despite the apparent smoothness of the Company's recovery, Governor Sir Bibye's period of office was not a time in which indifference and lethargy could have accomplished anything. The Company was faced with many problems in the rehabilitation of its trade, with the purchase of suitable trade-goods (especially the vital Brazil tobacco), the rebuilding and arming of its posts, the securing of exemptions from press-gangs for its ships, and the attempt to recover its damages from the French. In this attempt they met with no success, for the French proved evasive and equivocal, and the only consolation which the Company could find was that of its claim for £100,543 the large sum of £62,210 represented interest, so that the prime loss involved was not so crippling as might appear.⁴

¹ Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, II, 234-5; III, 370.

² The prices at which the coat beaver was to be offered for sale are noted in the Minutes Book (A. 1/ series). Both for the spring and the autumn sales in the middle years of the eighteenth century the coat beaver was uniformly offered at 4s. a pound and was bought at that price, so that the fluctuations which would normally accompany sale by auction were obviated by the Company's control of the trade.

³ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, Appendices 10, 17, 23. The costs of administration and trade were estimated at £12,245 in 1739, rising to £21,702 in 1744. The increases were partly ascribed to the rebuilding of Eastmain and to the establishment of Henley House.

⁴ A. 1/33, fo. 145; A. 1/117, fos. 26d.-27; A. 9/3, fo. 74.

The other matters of trade were all closely related, and all bore directly on the problem of French competition. It was competition with the French "wood-runners" above all other factors which marked this period; competition which was on the whole successful although it constantly appeared that all the knowledge and initiative lay with the French and that the English were content with a timorous, negative and defensive policy throughout.

With the lessons of all-too-recent French success before its eyes, the Company had proposed as one of the terms for the Treaty of Utrecht that "No wood-runners, either French or Indians, or any other person whatsoever, be permitted to travel, or seek for trade, beyond the limits hereinafter mentioned".¹ But from their first re-entry into their domain the Company found the French and their satellites hemming them in with violently active competition. Governor Knight, when he went out to take over York Fort (Port Bourbon) in 1714 formed a very poor opinion of some aspects of French efficiency. His house was "not half so Good as our Cowhouse was in the Bottom of the Bay", and he had never set foot in such a confused place in his life before, with not a dry place to put his head into and all the French houses, or huts, ready to fall, so that all he could do was to heap earth round them to keep them warm through the winter.² He had no hesitation in abandoning the French site and building anew. But though he might despise their domestic arrangements he could not afford to ignore their rivalry in the struggle for furs. He wrote, for example, that he could not afford to carry out the Committee's precepts and burn the summer beaver before the Indians' eyes, since they would then inevitably go to the French—"that's to the french wood Runners which are Settled in that lake they call the sea Lake near our western Indians."³

¹ Willson, *The Great Company*, I, 247.

² B. 239/a/1, fo. 5d.; A. 6/3, fo. 132; A. 11/114, fo. 13. Cf. A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (London, 1939), pp. 128, 130.

³ A. 11/114, fo. 13.

If Knight at York felt the pressure of French competition, still more so did Thomas Macklish at Albany. He wrote in 1716 that the French had started a settlement and built two houses about seven days' paddling up the Albany River, and that they were drawing off the Indians from Albany. In consequence, he had to "trade Larger" than Knight at York, and he hoped by this means to secure a "Benjaman's portion" of the trade, "not out off more Love to us then to the French but purely upon account that we give them near twice the Value for their Furrs".¹

The Governor and Committee played their part. From London they tried to work upon the Commissioners to get the French to honour the preliminaries to Utrecht and to "Remove the French from their Settlement near the head of Albany River".² The Company stood well with the Commissioners and the government, but the negotiations proved fruitless, and rivalry with the "wood-runners", with their policy of building houses up the rivers and intercepting Indians on their way to the English, was to prove a constant feature on the tributaries of the Albany and Moose Rivers.

This rivalry produced varying reports on cardinal points, particularly on the relative merits of French and English trade goods. Some traders insisted that French goods were not superior to ours; "in Short they have no Advantage over the English, but that they are in the place with the Indians where they Catch their Furrs and so Saves them the Trouble of a long journey".³ At times it was even represented that the Company's greater trustworthiness and the soundness of its goods gave the English the advantage; Captain Coats wrote of the French that "altho we constantly hear of their roving amongst the scattered tribes, and with their guegaws and nicknacks have had, by times, a great influence over this good-natured indolent people. But those been practised so often upon them, that the jest is worn out, and that *meum* and

¹ A. 11/2, fo. 34d.

² A. 1/117, fo. 27d.

³ A. 11/2, fo. 141, George Spence and Council at Albany to the Governor and Committee, August 10, 1749.

tuum is the word by which only the Company has the ascendent, not only in a greater choice of goods, but better pennorths".¹ This, however, was on the whole a minority view and most of the traders thought that the French had the advantage both in their standard of trade and the attractiveness of their goods, and often in quality too. Their cloth and their kettles, both staples of the fur trade, were reported as superior, whilst the Indians tried out the Company's gunpowder, the vital commodity, before the factors' faces and proceeded to "Extoll the Powder they have from the french which is really much better than Ours".²

Although the Committee failed to achieve anything against the French by diplomacy, they lent their traders full support in the field. With a practical grasp of the essential elements of trade, whatever may have been their ignorance of the Indian country, they endorsed Thomas Macklish's outspoken advice that "that Man is not fit to be Entrusted with the Company's Interest here, or in any of their Factorys, that does not make rather more proffit to the Company in Dealing in a good Commodity than in a bad".³ Constant care was taken to improve the quality of trade goods; reports were welcomed and sometimes demanded, and samples of the French goods were sought and emulated.⁴ A special Sub-committee dealt with the purchase of trade goods, and in this respect above all others the Company showed its vital interest in even the most minute matters. This was an interest not always welcomed in all its aspects by the traders, and throughout the period there is a rumbling echo of the words in which Governor Knight had placed the Committee's proper control of major policy in its relation to his own knowledge and sphere of responsibility. "It cannot be thought", he had written in 1716, "that you

¹ J. Barrow (ed.), *The Geography of Hudson's Bay; being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1852), pp. 50-1.

² A. 11/114, fo. 48d.; A. 11/2, fo. 81. ³ A. 11/114, fo. 48d.

⁴ A. 6/5, fo. 118d.; A. 6/6, fos. 71, 74d.; A. 6/8, fos. 9, 14d.; A. 11/2, fo.

that are at that distance can see or know altogether how things goes here so well as I do that am upon the Spott altho I do take all the care I can to give you what Information I am able that you may not be Ignorant of the State of this country". To lessen the Committee's ignorance of the state of the country, he referred them to his Journals "if you please to give your Selves the trouble to read them", and he added that "there is no Man fitt to Serve You, that must be told his Business".¹

Ordinary trade rivalry with the French and ineffective diplomatic moves, however keenly the Sub-committee for Trade might urge the one or the Governor pursue the other, were never accepted as adequate in themselves. This was the period in which the re-organisation of all France's overseas ventures in the omnipotent Compagnie d'Occident under Richard Law, with the establishment of commercial exchanges at Montreal and Quebec, and the building of Fort Niagara in 1720, all spoke of an uneasy peace, the speedy resumption of hostilities and a steady pursuit of overseas ambitions. This is therefore the period in which the Company is forced to pay very serious attention to the arming of its posts, when the business of fur-trading has to yield place to the duty of protection, and when fortifications, fields of fire, recognition signals for captains of incoming ships, and the relative merits of heavy guns and active small arms defence occupy great parts of the correspondence and of the instructions. Here the Governor and Committee were fully committed to a policy of standing defences and heavy guns (of which Churchill is the outstanding example but to which York, Moose and Albany were also made to conform) whereas there was a strong school of traders who favoured the clearing of shrubs to give a field of fire and reliance upon small arms. In 1694 at York heavy guns had lost much of their glamour; then "we had two Guners in the Fort at 50 and 60 li. per Annum, and over a Bowl of Punch and a long pipe in there mouths it was a thing unpossible for the place to be taken, But as Soon as an Enemy Came to Atack it they did not only take it, But found a way to Carry a

¹ A. 11/114, fos. 13-15.

Ship of 30 Guns up the South Channel with all Sails Standing about a Mile above the factory and there to winter".¹ On the whole, the Committee's views inevitably triumphed, cannon and shot were shipped out, and detailed instructions for the construction of breastworks, flankers and outworks added to the tasks of the factors, who had to abandon furs and exploration alike at the dictates of defence.

Warlike preparations, however, did not mean that either the factors or the Committee were belligerent. On the contrary, the issue above all others in which they seemed to leave the initiative to the French and to adopt a negative, defensive attitude was that of warfare. The penetration of the French wood-runners was most clearly marked by that willingness to partake in, and even to stimulate, Indian wars which had been a feature of French policy ever since Samuel de Champlain had taken part in the wars of the Hurons and the Iroquois. Constantly through this period occur statements that "several of the french goes Yearly with the Poits to Warr",² or that the Indians have deserted Churchill "not for their being more kindly Used by the French but Intirely out of Fear For Last September 3 Cannoes of the French Wood Runners after their Returne from Canady went into the Great Lake, to the most Noted Places where the Indians Resorts, and what with threatning to Proclame Warr against them Provided they Came to trade here, Likewise to Encourage their Common enemys the Poetts to break the Peace with them"³ drove them away. The story was the same from all the posts, alike from Churchill and from Albany, where "likeways all the Inds. standes in it, that french tells them, that severall hunds of the Inds which are thiere freinds will come and kill us with the Inds. which traide with us".⁴ The mere rumour of the

¹ A. 11/43, fo. 20; A. 6/4, fos. 47-8, Sailing Instructions to Captain Ingram Gofton, June 1, 1720; *ibid.*, fos. 91-2, Sailing Instructions to James Belcher, May 20, 1724; A. 6/5, fos. 68-70d., Governor and Committee to Joseph Adams and Council at Albany, May 10, 1733.

² A. 11/114, fo. 48.

³ A. 11/114, fo. 64.

⁴ A. 11/2, fo. 52d.

presence of eight French wood-runners leading their enemies was enough to disperse a war-flotilla of three hundred and fifty canoes in such panic that they then turned and murdered the families of the ten men who were commanding the flotilla.¹

In face of this constant incitement of the Indians to war, the Governor and Committee could do little to implement the hope that "your Honours could prevent the French from Encourageing them".² But from their very first return to their domains on the shores of the Bay they had insisted that their servants should use their utmost efforts to pacify the Indians, and the records are full both of ceaseless advice to the traders and of reports of action by the traders. From the start, Governor Knight had found it necessary to take hostages from the Indians in order to maintain peace. In 1715 he sent William Stewart off with the famous "slave woman" and a party of Indians to make peace between the Crees and the "Northern Indians" (the Chipewyans), a venture which accomplished much in spite of an inauspicious start in which the peace-makers fired on the Northern Indians, and one in which the Company fully supported him. For Stewart had his salary increased and got a gratuity "for his past Service in traveling to the Northwd. to make pease amongst the Indians".³ Henry Kelsey had, indeed, shown the way in this policy and his journeys of 1690 and 1691 had been not only "to call, encourage, and invite, the remoter Indians to a Trade with us" but also to travel and endeavour to keep the peace among them—a policy in which he was fully supported by the Governor and Committee, who threatened a trade embargo against the war-mongers. "If they war and destroy one another, those that are the Occasion of it, whoever they are, you will not sell them any more Guns, Powder, or Shot, which will expose them to their Enemies, who will have the Master

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 53.

² Ibid., fo. 48.

³ B. 239/a/3, fo. 78; A. 1/33, fo. 223. Cf. also Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 130–33, and J. F. Kenney (ed.), *The Founding of Churchill* (London, 1932), pp. 52–6.

of them, and quite destroy them from the Earth, them, and their Wives and Children".¹ It was Kelsey who produced the outstanding statement of the Company's policy here, when he told a Cree war-band that "we did not bring Guns, Powder and other Necessaries to destroy mankind but to kill food for them and their families".²

The record is continuous, but not always successful. Richard Norton's first sojourn among the Indians was "to divert 'em from going to warr and to desire 'em to go to trade at York Fort". He "effected and established such a peace as has not been broke since" (1750) although he "was very young and unqualified for any great matter" so that Captain Coats "did not find anything remained on his memory, but the danger and terrour he underwent; but to the day of his death he had an affectionate kindness for that people".³ He, again, was fully supported by the Committee and received a gratuity for "traveling with the Indians in order to make peace" in conformity with London's instructions that "The Preservation of Peace amongst them is of the utmost Importance".⁴ But he found himself, for example in 1725, faced with the eternal quandary of the pacifist; the Indians "askt me whether they must Stand Still and be knockt on the head Like Doggs or fight in their one Difence or noe by Reason we had ordered them not to warr with any Nativs".⁵ The same predicament was encountered when the traders ventured their good offices to promote peace; "I offer'd 10 Guns, and 40 fathoms of Tobacco, 14 Gallons of Brandy, to carry as Presents, to make peace with the Poits, but they with Scorn and Anger Refused the said Presents and told me I was like the french to have them Destroyed by their Ennemys" wrote Macklish in 1728.⁶

¹ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 275.

² B. 239/a/5, August 1, 1718.

³ Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, p. 32; B. 42/a/1, fo. 22d.

⁴ A. 1/117, fo. 21d.; A. 6/4, fo. 28d., Governor and Committee to Kelsey, June 4, 1719.

⁵ B. 42/a/5, fo. 24d.

⁶ A. 11/114, fo. 48.

Despite the set-backs, the policy of promoting peace was steadfastly pursued. For it represented just such a mixture of worldly wisdom and of moral approach as epitomised the approach both of the Committee and of their traders. It was never a predominantly altruistic policy, nor was it ever claimed as such. The traders were told to "use your best Endeavours to persuade by all Possible means those Warriours to go and kill Beaver, and other Beasts for Skins and Furrs to bring to the Factory to trade them . . . it will be much more to their advantage than to destroy Men, Women and Children."¹ This was an instruction varying in phrase but constant in tone. The orders of 1739 to Isham, who in this as in so much else was completely typical of his period, were that he should use the Indians kindly and prevent their going to war.²

Nor was there ever at this period any missionary fervour mingled with the Company's policy. There was no attempt to convert the Indians or the Eskimos to a Christian, still less to a sedentary, way of life. The good Captain Coats (who was discharged from the Company's service in 1751 because over a period of years he had "Traded a great quantity of Brandy and Other Goods" with the servants at the factories³) felt strongly that "The Company is unpardonable in leaving such swarms of Gods people in the hands of the devill, unattempted, as well as the other Indians in generall, a docile, inoffensive, good-natured, humane people, ofring and bowing to the yoke, yet shamefully neglected, not to give it a harder name; as if gorging ourselves with superfluitys was the ultimate condition of this life, and as for that in another life, we were neither much concerned for them, nor ourselves".⁴ This was not a merely negative policy. The report that an Indian boy had been taken into the trading house, taught to read and instructed in Christianity⁵ was the cause of a severe reprimand, followed by loss of his post, for Joseph Myatt of Albany. But the reprimand itself was an unrivalled example of the mixture of

¹ A. 6/6, fos. 42, 65d. ² Ibid., fo. 42. ³ A. 6/8, fos. 88, 91d., 95d.

⁴ Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, pp. 34-5.

⁵ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 220.

altruism and shrewdness which was so typical of the period. It spoke of "several accounts, from too good hands to be disbelievevd that many Irregularities and debaucheries are crept into the Factory where you are, the certain consequence of which must be disgusting and terryfying the Natives from coming to Trade with us, and the ruining and Spoiling our own Servants . . . besides the great Scandal this will be to our religion in General".¹ Myatt's character was vindicated by his successor in command, but behind the incident lay a decline in the returns from Albany, and there was that inevitable tightening of controls which is so often the concomitant of diminishing returns; the general orders stood that Indians were not to be "suffer'd to come into the Trading, or taught to Write or Read or otherwise admitted to prye into any of the Company's affairs".² This was but one example of a steady policy, and Isham's evidence on this subject before the Parliamentary Committee was the somewhat evasive "Every Man prays for himself", a formula properly expanded by Richard White into "he never heard of any Attempts made by the Factors to civilize these People; nor is it an easy Matter to be attained, since it would be necessary in that case to bring them up to Labour from their Youth".³ Labour and a sedentary life were rightly accepted as the preliminaries of Christianity and civilisation; they were accepted also, without discussion, as the enemies of the fur trade.

Lacking in positive missionary or civilising qualities though the Company's policy might be, it was far from irresponsible. These were the days when the Court of the French East India Company recalled the great Dupleix from India because "Your successes do not prevent us from desiring a state of things less brilliant and more peaceful . . . We want nothing but a few trading stations and some rise in dividends".⁴ The

¹ A. 6/4, fo. 74d.

² A. 11/2, fo. 50; A. 6/4, fo. 84.

³ H.B.C.Arch. Arthur Dobbs' Folder, May 4, 1749; *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 219.

⁴ H. I. Priestley, *France Overseas through the Old Régime* (New York, 1939), p. 195.

xxx OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Hudson's Bay Company came very near an English version of that typically eighteenth-century dictum when it instructed Joseph Isbister, in command at Churchill River, that "We have nothing more at Heart than the Preservation of our Factorys, the Security of our People and the Encrease of our Trade".¹ This was indeed the true position, but even so it had consequences which the Company realised and accepted. Within fifty years, contact with Europeans had produced an Indian society which retained its nomadic fundamentals but which was dependent on European trade for the necessities of life. The Committee could without hypocrisy lay before the Admiralty a plea that the Company's ships should be given protection, and immunity from press-gangs, because "many Thousand Families of the Natives for want of the supply they Annually receive from us, of Guns, Powder, and Shott, wherewith they kill the Beavor, Buffelo, and several other Beasts of that Country, the Flesh whereof is their Food, will by the disappointment of the not arrival of the said Ships, be starved before the next Year".²

The Indians were indeed dependent on the Company, and the responsibility was accepted. But the Indians were not allowed to take advantage of the relationship; particularly not of their knowledge that the dependence was mutual, and that the Company in its turn was utterly in their hands. At times they would threaten that if not used "according to their Expectations" they would desert to the French or start wars, and they showed a strong inclination to haunt the factory precincts instead of hunting for their own subsistence.³ On such occasions they would be told that the Company "did not desire their Company Eampty handed" and would be given powder and shot and sent away to hunt. But a situation could arise in which there would be twenty-six Indians "lying upon the Factory" under "a pretence that they were all Snow blind" whilst the English compliment amounted only to twenty-nine men, some of whom had been sent out to tent and

¹ A. 6/7, fo. 141d.

² A. 6/4, fo. 107, May, 1726.

³ B. 42/a/1, fo. 29d.

hunt in order to relieve the pressure on the food supplies.¹ At such times, and during genuinely bad seasons, the presence of the Indians at the factories was a severe burden, and one which the Company bore, in part from policy, in part from humanitarianism.

Whether in neglecting the Indians' souls or in maintaining their bodies, in providing brandy for the trade or in withholding it from its servants, in all the manifold and interwoven problems of resurrecting its trade in the first half of the eighteenth century the Company was confronted by the rivalry of the French. So constant a rivalry may to some extent account for the consistency of the policy adopted during this period; but not entirely. The Governorship of Sir Bibye Lake may explain the steadiness on major issues of the London Committee over so long a span—a steadiness all the more remarkable because there was nothing spectacular in the policy pursued. The genuine success achieved in revindicating the Company's claims and in re-establishing its trade was both cause and effect of the continuousness; for steady adherence even to a policy which contains miscalculations can procure results. But by themselves these are all inadequate explanations. The major tenets of the policy remained constant even during the periods when French opposition was at an ebb; they outlasted even Sir Bibye, the "perpetual Governor". For they depended not on the London Committee alone, but also on the factors, and above all on the confidence and interdependence established between the factors and the Committee. Herein lay something at once flexible and durable, a balance of knowledge and planning, of experience and direction, which produced a consistency based on a true appreciation of the unchanging nature of the problem. In such a balance the factors and their knowledge weighed heavily.

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 48d.; B. 42/a/2, fos. 39 et seq.

II

ISHAM AT YORK FORT

The relations between the London Committee and its trading personnel are as elusive and difficult to define as anything during this strangely elusive period. From the reading of isolated documents it could be assumed that the traders were completely dominated in every detail by the London Committee; from another selection of documents it could be fairly assumed that the London Committee was ignorant of conditions in the Bay, that it was aware of this ignorance, and that it therefore allowed full scope to a very independent body of local executives. In fact, there was sufficient mutual confidence to allow of plain speaking on both sides, and if the persistency of the Company's policy during the long period of Sir Bibye Lake's governorship is the most remarkable feature of that period, the uniformity of behaviour which it evoked from its traders is the most remarkable outcome of that policy. For the men who were prepared to winter in Hudson Bay were not characterless or malleable creatures; nor did they conform to any type as far as their personalities were concerned. Between gruff Governor Knight, setting out on his last voyage of discovery at the age of eighty, and the sober and meticulous Isham, seldom out of gun-shot of a fort during his whole period of service, there is a whole world of difference; and all the various intervening stages are more than adequately represented—Kelsey the explorer and stern disciplinarian; Norton the traveller and friend of the Indians, without any discipline or business method in him; the retired and rather pompous sea-captain Newton; the promoted carpenter Myatt. They vary through the whole range of human character, but they show some fundamental characteristics in common. They all share the same enthusiasm for the main tenets of policy as laid down in London combined with a sturdy independence of spirit and an

ill-concealed desire to educate the London Committee in the essential facts of its frozen domain.

If James Knight set the tone, James Isham was completely typical—all the more so perhaps because he lacked arresting personality. He was not enamoured of conditions in the Bay and at the end of his first contracted period of service was anxious to come home. But he knew no other career and was prepared to remain if promotion offered,¹ so that in 1737 he accepted the post of Chief Factor at York Factory at a salary of £40 a year as against the £20 which he had been paid as accountant.²

As Chief Factor he served with quiet competence for four years until he was “translated” to Churchill in 1741. His period in command at York is chiefly remarkable for the letters to the Committee for which he was responsible in 1738 and 1739.³ Here he shewed to admiration the spirit of the trading personnel during this period—and that a comparatively junior factor should dare to write such letters is evidence rather of the tolerance of the Committee than of temerity in the writer, for Isham was not an adventurous soul. After the commonplaces, Isham embarked upon the main body of his communications by telling the Committee in plain phrase that he could not tolerate the minuteness of their enquiries into his trading methods. “This is my province” he writes, and one can see the gruff shade of Governor Knight standing behind him, muttering to the same Committee in the same spirit that “There is no Man fitt to Serve You, that must be told his Business”.⁴

Isham then proceeded to deal with problems as they had arisen. Again like Knight, he advised the Committee to take the trouble to read his Journals if they really wanted to know the answers to some of their questions—how many Indians had come to trade from each nation, and how many canoes they brought. He pointed out the impossibility, and the uselessness of recording the skins brought in to trade by each individual Indian, and he defended as old-established and essential the

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 79.

² A. 1/122, fo. 135; A. 16/31, fo. 16.

³ A. 11/114, fos. 82–93d.

⁴ Ibid., fo. 85d.

xxxiv OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

customs of giving presents of furs and of watered brandy at trade time (one-third water in the brandy). Next he came to a really serious problem, the giving of provisions to starving Indians. This was a matter on which the Committee and the traders were on common ground, but the Committee found it necessary always to advocate parsimony. Isham need hardly have urged, as he did, that the survival of the factories and of the trade itself depended on maintaining the Indians through their bad times; the Committee was already pledged to this policy. More pertinent was his statement that he had given them nothing more than the irreducible minimum of oatmeal.

This reply to criticism and over-direction was followed by a sensible and helpful analysis of trade goods, with suggestions derived from practical knowledge of the Indians' needs and sympathetic appreciation of their desires and of their mentality. The beads sent were too large to hang on an Indian's nose; the kettles were too small for their weight, their handles came too far over the side and their "ears" were "too weak". Buttons had been sent with weak shanks; English cloth had been found too narrow, too weak and thin. The gun-powder was "very weak and fowl and of too Large a grain", the gun-worms were too short and too wide for the ram-rods. Indian women usually had small fingers and the rings which were being sent out were much too large. There followed a list of damages and defects—combs too weak for the coarse Indian hair, flour musty, oatmeal "coarse, foul and very bitter", bricks broken on arrival, pipes smashed in transit.

In all of this there is nothing of abuse or recrimination—merely an executive of the Company stating his province and making helpful suggestions to his principals. This is an atmosphere which permeated the Company under the governorship of Sir Bibye Lake, and which characterised Isham throughout his career. He suggested, for example, that as much trade might be driven with trifles as with serious trade goods, and his suggestion bore fruit when a consignment of "toys" to please the Indians was sent out in 1743.¹ Such

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 8; A. 6/7, fos. 16, 20.

suggestions flowed naturally and easily from him; he later asked for some "phosphorous" to please the leading Indians and suggested a shipment of "Coseuluss Invecus" to poison "Shy Vermin as foxes Wolves etc which has been wounded at a Gun and gone of, therefore will not take bait of a Gun or a Trap". Such beasts, he reported, devoured those who later got caught in the traps, and could therefore be easily poisoned. The poison which he proposed "throws them into a Delerum, or a Profound Sleep by which if well Looked after may be a Means to Gett them".¹

Apart from a thrifty pursuit of furs, the main problem of Isham's period in command at York was that of the rebuilding of the post. Knight had firmly decided to build anew rather than to attempt to renovate the French houses when he took over from Monsieur Jérémie; but timber was, as ever at York, scarce and Knight had many pressing preoccupations. The post which he built was therefore far from ideal and by 1729 Thomas Macklish reported that it was in a good posture for defence against Indians or against a land attack by small arms but that "of all your Buildings I have seen in your Country, this is the worst contrived both in respect of Defence and Conveniency" (an instance of the controversy over the respective merits of big-gun and small-arms defence for the posts). Had there been timber for building, Macklish would have volunteered his services for the task;² as things stood, it was 1740 before the Committee had taken the decision to rebuild York and Isham therefore came into the story during his last year in command there. He gave it as his opinion that it would be unwise to rebuild on the existing site. The ground, he said, would not stand a stone building and renovations of the existing wooden structure would be merely the putting of new cloth to old.³

Isham's views were rejected; the Committee persisted in its project, plans were approved for a new fort on the existing site

¹ A. 11/13, fo. 85, August 18, 1744.

² A. 11/114, fo. 54d., August 1, 1729.

³ Ibid., fo. 99d., July 27, 1740.

xxxvi OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

and after some slight further indecision under Isham's successor in command the plan was carried into effect.¹

With all his air of a meticulous accountant, Isham was not always the punctilious correspondent which the Committee could have wished. He could earn the rebuke that "your General letter is not wrote in Paragraphs which you must not fail to observe for the future answering distinctly each Paragraph of our Letter".² It is clear that he could at times resent the Committee's enquiries and at times ignore them, so that when the Company's archives do not contain his answer to an enquiry there is always the possibility that he did not send an answer. But full and admirable as the Company's archives are, they do not contain by any means all the interesting communications which have flowed into the Company's offices since 1670, and it is probable that amongst the documents which have been lost is Isham's answer to the General Instructions, repeated in 1736, 1737 and 1738, that Factors should send home the roots of herbs, plants and shrubs, with seeds, berries and kernels, whilst the surgeons should identify them by their Indian names and list their qualities.³ This was the sort of enquiry which should have appealed to Isham, and in answer to which the talents for observation and detail which he reveals in his *Observations* might well have produced valuable information. If he ever sent in his reply it has suffered the same fate as the "Book of Carthredge paper Made in Quarto of 152 Pages all numbered with differant Sorts of Plants, Flowers and Leaves" which was sent in 1738 by Moose Factory, but which apparently never reached London.⁴ Isham's contribution was four boxes of "trees Herbs &c",⁵ but there is no record that this consignment was received or that he ever sent in any descriptive literature.

This botanical enquiry was part of a move to ascertain the resources of the country apart from furs. Factors were urged to work large and improved gardens "so as to Save the

¹ A. 1/35, p. 165; A. 11/114, fos. 104, 108; A. 6/7, fo. 21d.

² A. 6/7, fo. 6d. ³ A. 6/5, fo. 96d.; A. 6/6, fo. 18d.

4 A. 11/43, fo. 22

⁵ A. 11/114, fos. 81, 85d.

Company the Great Charge of sending you Peas, Beans, Barley, Oats and other Seeds, which you might with little trouble and care Procure your Selves ".¹ This was, almost inevitably, to be a permanent feature of Company history from the vindication of its claims to Rupert's Land onwards. For the first stage in the establishment of any colony is one in which consumption goods are imported from the mother country as capital outlay; the second stage is that in which commodities for local consumption and the maintenance of the colony are produced from local resources. The inhospitable shores of the Bay are peculiarly ill-adapted for this second stage in the evolution of a colony, and, indeed, it has not yet been achieved there. Nevertheless the topic has been under constant review, and the opinion of so shrewd an observer as Isham would have been particularly interesting. As matters stand, all that is on record from him on this problem is his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee that " No corn will grow there—we have Sallad—Turnips etc. I've sown Barley and Oats, it came to Ear, but never ripened ".²

This was an opinion, and an experience, common to most of the factors; " The whole a Barren Country " was the general report³ and those who differed were those who had either spent but little time in the country or else who had not had the responsibility of trying to grow food there. Such was the surgeon Edward Thompson, who thought Moose as proper for beans, peas and barley as some parts of Yorkshire and who said he had seen better barley and oats at Moose than ever he saw in the Orkneys.⁴ Admittedly, most of the factors, like Richard White, had " never been used to Tillage " and were " very indifferent Judges in those matters ",⁵ but the Committee was constantly pressing them to improve their experience and to become active gardeners. And Isham, inquisitive, painstaking and almost garrulous in his reports,

¹ A. 6/6, fo. 41.

² H.B.C.Arch., Arthur Dobbs' Folder, May, 4, 1749.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, pp. 222-3.

⁵ Ibid., p. 219.

xxxviii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

would have been an admirable experimenter had his report survived.

Silent though he may have been on botanical problems, Isham during his first period at York sent in to the Committee a report which in its own way is as significant as any natural history notes which he may have penned. Character-sketches of their employees were familiar to the Committee and were appreciated by them as a means of keeping abreast of their affairs in the Bay. From time to time they requested such notes from their factors¹ and such a request was enough to start Isham on a detailed report. Already, in 1738, he had assured the Committee that "No Gang of men Can behave soberer, than has been here, and which your Honours may be assur'd we shall discourage anything to the Contrary, the Consequences is so dreadfull".² In 1740 he went further and gave individual notes on each of his subordinates.³ Typical of the man's thoroughness and of his desire to keep the Committee well-informed, his character-sketches differ fundamentally from the famous "Character-Book" later kept by George Simpson in that they are primarily for the information of the Committee and not for his own use, and in that they altogether lack the venom which was so evident a feature of Simpson's work. "John Potts Surgeon, is a very sober, honest and Industrious young man, and I believe, very Capable of the station he is under in your honours service." "James Luittit, James Manson, Thos Sclater, John Luittit, Jno. Virtie, Robert Moode and Wm. Olson, are all able Strong men and fitt to Carry a Log, or any other Labouring work." "They do all in general behave them Selves very well in their Duty, to my great Satisfaction." Such entries show the essential kindliness and lack of spite in the man. But he could be incisive too. The shipwright John Spure was "handy in his trade but not Extrodinary handy in house Carpenter's work", and the one drunkard at the post was sent home "not thinking itt Convenient to keep him, with Sober

¹ A. 6/5, fos. 99d., 118.

² A. 11/114, fo. 82d.

³ Ibid., fos. 98d., 99.

men he being Continually Drunk and Corrupting other men from Doing their Duty".¹

The characters, if they did nothing else, must have made it clear to the Committee that in Isham they had a pert and shrewd but yet amenable servant, one whose general attitude closely reflected their own, one whom they could therefore transfer with confidence to their most vital command, to Churchill where urgent issues made necessary that blend of tact and independence, of deference to orders and self-reliance, of which Isham gave good promise.

III

CHURCHILL AND DISCOVERY TO THE NORTHWARD

At Churchill a side of the Company's activities with which he had previously had little connection immediately demanded Isham's attention. At York Fort the accent had always been on correctness and conservatism; Churchill, by contrast, represented a forward, expansionist policy, and throughout this period was always connected with projects for exploration and penetration of the hinterland of the Bay. Consequently, although York was officially the senior post, Isham's transfer to Churchill was rather a sign of confidence than otherwise, and he went without qualms, leaving York to his predecessor and mentor, the elderly Thomas White, who returned from a recuperative spell in England to accept the post.²

Governor Knight had been the moving force behind the building of Prince of Wales's Fort on Churchill River, with his Deputy, Henry Kelsey, strongly supporting him. Their

¹ It is perhaps significant that Richard Mincyne, the man returned home, was re-engaged by the Committee in 1741. *Ibid.*, fo. 94d.; A. 6/6, fo. 102.

² Isham sailed on the *Churchill* sloop in August, 1741, after concerting his policy with White. A. 11/114, fo. 104. Cf. *infra*, p. lxiii.

motive was largely to extend the Company's posts towards the "Northern Indians" (the Chipewyans) and the Eskimos, to spread peace and habits of fur-trading among them and to give them the feeling of permanency and stability which no system of trading cruises from York Fort could give, and without which they would not turn seriously to fur hunting. This was no easy task, for Knight believed that "Them Natives to the Norward are more Savage and brutelike than these and will drink blood and eat raw flesh and fish and loves it as well as some does Strong Drink".¹ A fair start was made with the mission of William Stewart to the Northern Indians in 1716—a mission which probably reached the vicinity of Great Slave Lake and which achieved its main object of spreading peace between the Crees and the Chipewyans. The next year Stewart was sent as interpreter to help consolidate the achievement by siting a post on Churchill River,² and the Governor himself followed in July, 1717, to confirm the arrangements. Knight immediately found two great difficulties; he could discover no suitable site for a post in Churchill River, and he found that the district was "so bare that it affords neither fish nor flesh", and that he had been "very much Deceiv'd by Mr. Kellsey in his Information of this Place".³ A post at Churchill could not be maintained without a plentiful supply of English provisions.

The difficulties were, however, outshone by the prospects which Churchill opened up. For it could draw off redundant trade from York Fort and leave the latter free to compete with the French in the lands of the Saskatchewan, Moose and Albany rivers; it could be a base for northern discovery and for a whale fishery, and it gave promise of access to great mineral wealth. Churchill gave contact with Indians who brought reports of a great copper mine to the North, near to the sea, and filled Knight with conviction that not only the copper mine but probably also a passage to the "Southern

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 15.

² Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, pp. 69-72.

³ B. 42/a/1, fo. 22, and Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, p. 137.

Sea " could be reached by voyaging North from Churchill. Herein lay entrancing prospects both for himself and for the Company.

Knight therefore left Henry Kelsey in command as Governor in 1719 and returned to London to present the case to the Governor and Committee. The upshot was the decision to persist with the establishment at Churchill despite the difficulties, and the post was named Prince of Wales's Fort on the arrival of the ship in 1719.¹ Of less permanent value but of more dramatic interest was the despatch of the *Albany* frigate and the *Discovery* sloop under the command of the now aged Knight. They were to sail "upon a Discovery to the Northward", and were "to find out the *Streight of Anian*, in order to discover Gold, and other valuable Commodities, to the Northwards". The private instructions to the ships' captains, to be opened only if Knight died on the voyage, told them to "find out the Straights of Anian, and to make what Discoveries you possibly can, and to obtain all sorts of Trade and Commerce... Especially to find out the Gold and Copper Mines if possible".² The expedition sailed North from Churchill that summer, and no member of it was seen alive again by a white man, nor has any authentic account of their voyage come to hand.

Knight had played a great part in urging the expedition, as in the founding of Churchill. The Committee had been swayed by the "Information of Indians to our Governor in the Country" and Knight was given the full credit for the expedition, which was fitted out "upon your Application to us".³ But Knight's disappearance and presumed death did not end the Company's interest in his projects. The lure of the copper-mine persisted, and the building of Prince of Wales's Fort continued.

¹ A. 6/4, fo. 30; B. 42/a/1, fo. 58. For good accounts of these events, see Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 140-42, and Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, p. 75 et seq.

² *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 258, and A. 6/4, fo. 32d.

³ A. 1/117, fo. 18-18d.; A. 6/4, fo. 39d.

Knight had left Richard Staunton in command at Churchill and had sent the "boy Richard Norton" out to winter with the Northern Indians. Norton's success in establishing peace is clear, but the geographical details of his journey are still obscure. A brief account, described as "well known to be Matter of Fact" was that "Norton set out in his Canoe, with a Northern Indian, the Middle of July, 1717, and went no farther to the Northward than the Latitude of 60 Deg. He there left his Canoe, and travelled in-land in quest of this Northern Nation, took a great Sweep to the Southward of the West, and found them returning to their Winter Quarters. He engag'd some of those People to travel with him to Churchill, where they all arriv'd about Christmas the same Year, after having endur'd a great many Hardships".¹ The contact with the Northern Indians thus begun constantly spurred the Company to exploration. Staunton reported that "I am of a Opinion there is a Considerable quantity of Copper towards those parts; (it being a prodigious way up in the Country) and not capable to be brought down by land; yett if we Can find a Communication by Navigation nothing Can hinder us from so rich a purchass".²

It was as well that conviction of the wealth of the copper mine, and enthusiasm for a thrust to the North, prevailed; for Churchill as a fur-trade post soon came in for severe criticism. Sober experience revealed that all the Indians "so much talk of by Capt. Knight and his hangers on does not exceed 200 famileys" and led to the conclusion expressed from York Fort by Thomas Macklish (who might well have been prejudiced!) that Churchill only robbed York of trade, that it ought to trade at the same standard as York and to ship its returns from York, and that its trade would never repay the cost of the establishment and of shipping direct from Churchill to London.³

Some such discouragement was inevitable, especially in view of the heavy loss which the Company had sustained

¹ Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence* (London, 1744), p. 25.

² B. 42/a/1, fo. 50.

³ A. 11/114, fo. 23.

financially in Knight's expedition.¹ Nevertheless both the Committee and the factors persisted in their projects. Already, whilst Knight's expedition was en route, Henry Kelsey had arrived at Churchill in June, 1719, loaded the small hoy *Success* and *Prosperous* with casks for whale-oil and two months' provisions, and sailed away to the North.² Next year the procedure was repeated when in July Captain Hancock took the *Prosperous* hoy away, only to return within the month, with great mortality but no trade.³ In 1721 the Committee took the matter out of Kelsey's hands; he proposed to "winter to Northward" but the Committee set its face against any attempt to winter anywhere North of Churchill. They held that to do so would hazard his life and that he would "make as much Discovery both of Whales, and other Commodities" by leaving Churchill in June as by wintering away, but to show that they were not indifferent they sent the *Whalebone* sloop out for "Discovery purposes" under command of Captain Scroggs. The *Whalebone* was to be sent North to latitude $66\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and was not to inspect the coast on its outward voyage nor to waste time among the Indians, but was to make its best pace outwards and to be back at Churchill by the first week of September "in order to your perfecting the Discovery the Year following".⁴

In 1721 Henry Kelsey arrived at Churchill in the *Prosperous* hoy in July and set sail on 13th of that month, taking with him Richard Norton as "lingister" and one of the Northern Indians, whom Richard Staunton had "kept this spring on purpose he saying he can show him where the Copper is and not far from the sea side; which I hope will prove trouth".⁵ Kelsey was back by August 16th with a promise of plenty of whale oil, but he had not found time to "goe the Lenght of the Copper So that their is no farther Discovery Made then formerly".⁶

¹ Estimated at £7,000 or £8,000. Dobbs, *Remarks*, p. 7.

² Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, pp. 81-2.

³ B. 42/a/1, fos. 84, 86.

⁴ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 254.

⁵ B. 42/a/1, fo. 136-136d.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 142.

Captain Scroggs, with the Committee's instructions to explore to the Northward, would therefore have arrived at Churchill in 1721 to find exploration rather a sour topic but for the fact that other approaches had also been tried. An Indian boy "James" had by now spent three years at Churchill, and he and Richard Norton had brought in to trade a band of eighty Northern Indians who, in their turn, had persuaded two Copper Indians to come and see the factory. These Copper Indians had seen the mine, knew the country, and one of them was prepared to go North with the sloop. "All theise Indians stands in it that theire is Copper in great Quantitys but a great way to the norard of theire Countrey" and they insisted that they could not bring any worth-while loads by land. As a supplement to direct access by sea, Staunton therefore exhorted them to make canoes for the journey, so that they could bring more furs and so that the copper would be accessible by water; "I have Done all I can to finde a way to come by water in Cannos through the Countrey and not to Come Creeping by Land".¹ This move was reinforced by the growing fear that direct sea journeys would prove impossible; by 1724 Macklish at York triumphed in the verdict that "they have placet the Mine so far as they cannot goe and come in less then three years" and even Richard Norton wrote that the Copper Indian "resolved me there was no such thing as a Passage to them it being all a frozen Sea where they are . . . he Said itt was Such a Distance off that he Could not Travill their In Less then 3 Winters time: and he thought he could do more Good in Gathering the Indians together to gett furrs".²

Whilst maritime exploration was thus losing its attraction Churchill as a post was gathering a respectable trade and its summer whale fishery became well-organised and successful—so much so that the factors got almost into the habit of calling it "Fort Prince of Whales"!

Scroggs therefore left behind him an active, vital little

¹ Ibid., fos. 127, 127d., 131d.; B. 42/a/2, fo. 45.

² A. 11/114, fo. 27d.; B. 42/a/4, fo. 30.

establishment when he set off from Churchill on June 21, 1722, taking Richard Norton once more as interpreter. He was back within a month, with the tragic news that he had been where the *Albany* and the *Discovery* were both shipwrecked "and he doth affirm that Every Man was killed by the Eskimos".¹

Knight and his party had already been given up for dead. But the news of a total massacre was not expected and there is a great difference between the psychological effect of failure and even of death and the effect of failure accompanied by a total massacre. Subsequent research has made it most probable that Knight's party was seriously weakened by disease before the Eskimos fell upon them,² but this could not be known to contemporaries and the dreadful news brought by Scroggs was fully accepted and proved conclusive.

Thenceforth until outside influences spurred it, the Hudson's Bay Company gave up serious attempts to effect maritime discovery North from Churchill; its fears of the dangers of wintering to the northward were confirmed. So, whilst the Northern and the Copper Indians were strongly encouraged to come to trade, whilst they were exhorted to find a canoe-route for the journey, and whilst a sloop was sent North every summer, the sloop went on a whaling and trading voyage and no serious attempt to open new areas was made. Instead, with the threatening international situation in view (for we were at war with Spain from 1718 on) the building and defence of the post was given pride of place. So much did routine work usurp the predominance of expansion that the Committee even went so far as to instruct Norton in 1725 that John Butler Senior "has wrote to us to let his Son go up into the country with the Northern Indians in order to learn the

¹ B. 42/a/2, fos. 47 and 51; cf. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 145. No full account of Scroggs' voyage has survived. His log was called for by the Parliamentary Committee of 1749 and was scrutinised by Arthur Dobbs, who published an extract of it in his *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence*, pp. 113-17.

² Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 145.

xlvi OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Language; we do hereby order you not to suffer him or any other Person to be absent from his Duty on such pretence unless we think it necessary".¹

This severe reaction did not mean that the Committee was averse from expansion as a whole; it was merely an indication that Churchill's prospects in this direction were low, and that attention was diverted elsewhere. As early as 1719-20 Albany had sent out expeditions to set up establishments towards Eastmain; from 1719 to 1729 the project of establishing a post from Albany at Moose River was fully discussed, and when Moose had been established in 1730 an "Escomay Boy" was taken into the post, and ultimately sent to London where he died, in order to provide information about whaling within Hudson Strait.² Meanwhile, very serious attention was still accorded to plans for expeditions from Albany to the Eastmain, plans which resulted in a decision to send an annual sloop to effect peace between the Indians and the Eskimos and to build a post up Slood River at the Eastmain for the development of trade to the Northward and Eastward.³ Even York Fort came into the picture, and Isham was instructed to open a trade with the "Western Indians that live on the north and East borders of the great Lake called Assiniopolis".⁴

In all of this it was rivalry with the French which kept the need for an active policy before the Committee's eyes; and Churchill was to some extent immune from that rivalry and therefore tended to fall into the background until French success led to such public feeling as again brought Churchill to the fore.

With La Vérendrye in command of the *Postes du Nord* the French drive to the West, compounded of missionary zeal, zest for exploration, patriotism, fur-trading and a natural love for overland travel, was led and organised as it had never been

¹ A. 6/4, fo. 98d.

² A. 1/35, p. 160.

³ A. 1/121, fos. 156, 159; A. 6/4, fos. 33d., 41d.; A. 11/2, fo. 79d., 98;

A. 6/6, fo. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 15d.

since Champlain; the search for the Western Sea and an outlet to the Pacific was skilfully confused with fur-trade penetration and La Vérendrye and his sons, based on Kaministikwia, penetrated and built establishments near Rainy Lake in 1731, at Lake of the Woods in 1732, and on Red River in 1734. In this movement the wood-runners preceded and outran the official parties, so that both the factors and the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company were fully aware of the French occupation of the forests between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg long before the successes of La Vérendrye awoke the British public to the fact that large areas and a potentially valuable trade were being abrogated by France. Indeed, La Vérendrye himself had been forced to admit the conclusion that the way to the Western Sea probably lay South through the route of the Missouri rather than North through Lake Winnipeg, and to divert his efforts to the South, before the general English public became aware of his threat.

It was at this stage that the persistent Ulsterman, Arthur Dobbs, came on the scene. Starting with rather an academic interest in the probability of a Northwest Passage, he prepared an abstract of narratives of voyages in search of the passage. Then, having access to the ruling circles in England by virtue of his position as an Irish landowner, Member of Parliament and administrator, he presented his abstract to Colonel Bladen, one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. At this time, 1731, Dobbs' intention was that the South Sea Company should prosecute a search for the passage, but his plan fell through and nothing happened until 1733, when he again pushed his ideas in London. This time he submitted his thesis to Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty, who introduced him to Samuel Jones, Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Jones frowned on the idea of exploration from Churchill, and recounted the ill-success of Knight's expedition. Dobbs therefore did nothing further until 1735, when he got permission to peruse the copy of the Company's Charter in the Plantation Office and found that, with their grant of exclusive trade, the Company

xlviii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

would derive the sole benefit of any discoveries which might be made. They should, he thought, therefore undertake the expedition.

With this in mind he secured an introduction to Sir Bibye Lake and placed his views before him. Sir Bibye also was still labouring under the loss of Knight's expedition, but Dobbs explained that all he wanted the Company to do was to send some sloops from Churchill to Roes Welcome, *Ne Ultra*, where an observation of the tides would give all the data required. Sir Bibye agreed that this might be done, but deferred action until Churchill had been properly fortified in view of the probability of a French war. Dobbs was content with this, but his enthusiasm for the theory of the passage led him to seek out Christopher Middleton, whom he knew by repute as a ship's captain who worked for the Company and who had shown genuinely scientific interest in Polar navigation and geography. Middleton shared his enthusiasm and allowed Dobbs access to the Company's accounts of the voyages which had so far been made. In this there was perhaps indiscretion but nothing particularly reprehensible. For Dobbs was at this stage working with the Company, and the Committee was seriously considering his proposals.¹

Dobbs' interview with Sir Bibye Lake is not recorded in the Company's Minutes or Correspondence Books. But in March, 1736, instructions and proposals for a "Discovery Expedition" were discussed by the Committee which, like Dobbs, delved back into the "several Journals and accounts relating to the Company's proceedings in former years on the said discovery".² As a result, in 1736, Captain James Napper was sent to Churchill with the *Churchill* and *Musquash* sloops, with orders to tent at a bay in Roes Welcome, to conduct a thorough survey, open a trade, and to prepare for further discoveries, with reinforcements from England, in the

¹ Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 3-10, 113 et seq. Christopher Middleton, *A Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton* (London, 1743), pp. 40-41.

² A. 1/122, fos. 246, 252.

following year.¹ The Northwest Passage and Dobbs' urgings lie clearly behind these instructions; but two sets of boring instruments were also sent to Churchill for the expedition to use at places where they landed "to see what the Earth was and whether there was any likelihood of a Mine".²

Napper's expedition marks the point at which Dobbs and Middleton parted from the Company. Napper arrived at Churchill too late to go North in 1736, and the loss of the *Hudson Bay*, bound for York Fort, also made it necessary to use his two sloops for transport between Churchill River and York. But Napper set out in 1737 and reached Pistol Bay (Ranken Inlet) where he established friendly relations with the Indians and promised to return the next year. The two ships were brought back safely to Churchill though Napper died on the return voyage. But all who were actively concerned with the expedition were completely disillusioned. Norton wrote from Churchill that "from the Success of their Expedition to the Northward we find noe Encouragement to Send the Sloops there Next Year, the Coast being perrilous, No Rivers Navigable, that they could meet with Nor noe woods and the Trade trifling and Inconsiderable".³ To Sir Bibye Lake the expedition was conclusive. He told Dobbs that "they could not find any Rivers or Inlets on the Western Coast to the North of *Churchill*, nor any the least Appearance of a Passage", and he concluded that "I hope you will excuse me from running the Company into any farther Danger or Expence, for I am already blamed a good deal for that I have already persuaded them to undertake in this Matter".⁴

The slight urge to exploration from Churchill which Dobbs had rekindled was extinguished. No further move was made. The Committee gave orders that Napper's pledge to the Eskimos should be redeemed and a sloop sent to Pistol Bay again in 1738. At first the revulsion from northern voyages was so strong that the sloop was ordered to persuade the

¹ A. 6/5, fo. 108d.; and *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, pp. 259-60.

² A. 6/6, fo. 79d. ³ A. 11/13, fos. 35d., 4od.

⁴ Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 93-4.

1 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Eskimos to come to Churchill to trade. But in deference to Norton's fears of the consequences of bringing them to the Fort the Committee changed its mind and ordered that the *Churchill* sloop should be fitted out yearly for a trading voyage to Pistol Bay, working along the coast westwards. It was, however, to be a purely trading voyage, for whalebone and oil not for "ivory", and the masters and crews were to get ten per cent. of the profit between them, to stimulate their efforts.¹

Convinced though both the Committee and its factors might be, Napper's voyage merely left Dobbs and Middleton certain that the Company was trifling with them, that it had sent out unqualified personnel with no serious intention of discovery. Failing in an attempt to spur the Company further, Dobbs again approached Sir Charles Wager at the Admiralty. His answer, that the danger of war meant that no public funds for an expedition could be promised, was such that the two enthusiasts immediately suspected Wager of collusion with the Company! But when the war preparations were over (and Anson sent off on his voyage round the world) the Admiralty turned to Dobbs' project again, Middleton was suitably presented (to Sir Robert Walpole among others) and in 1741 was given a commission in the Royal Navy and placed in command of the gunboat *Furnace* which, with the sloop *Discovery*, was to sail on a northern voyage.²

The Committee of the Company noted that Middleton had resigned their service, and accepted a commission in the Navy. They noted, too, that "His Majesty's Bomb Vessel, called the *Furnace*" was to go on a voyage of discovery to the Northwest and to endeavour to find out a passage to the South Sea, China, and the East Indies. They therefore decided to "take the best care to hinder any Encroachments on the Company's Trade, Property, or Priviledges and to do all things necessary for preserving the same".³

Dobbs was by this time completely hostile to the Company, which had refused to prosecute his obsession and could

¹ A. 6/6, fos. 5, 45.

² Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 90-125.

³ A. 1/35, fos. 145, 169.

therefore do no good. Middleton shared the enthusiasm but also knew something of the Company's work and of the difficulties involved. He was sent to the Committee by the Admiralty with a request that they would give him assistance in his attempt. Dobbs alleged that " before he went upon the Voyage, the Company had done all they possibly could to have distressed him in the Attempt of the Discovery of a Passage, even so far as to forbid their Governors to give him the Use of their Ports, and when applied to by the Lords of the Admiralty, to give him Assistance, they only allowed their Governors to give him Assistance if he were in the utmost Danger, but not otherwise ".¹ The actual orders, given to Isham who had just been appointed to Churchill, were that he should give Middleton such assistance as was necessary if " brought into real Distress and Danger of his Life or Loss of his Ship ".²

Between Middleton and the Company at this time relations were amicable, almost cordial. Middleton later admitted that he would " readily grant, that the Governor and Directors of the Company recommended the Protection of their Trade to me. In them it was a very natural and a reasonable Request; and, for my part, I esteem'd it the Duty of my Station to maintain them as far as I had Power and Authority, in the Rights and Privileges which were granted them by one of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors ". He added that " when they had been so generous to allow me to winter at one of their Factories, it would have been a mean and base Return for their Hospitality, as well as the highest Ingratitude, to rob and plunder them, either by trading with the Natives myself, or suffering others under me to trade with them ".³ Of the permit to winter at one of the factories the Company's records bear no trace. All that survives of this episode, apart from the subsequent vituperation, is that a week after the Admiralty had

¹ Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1744), p. 105.

² A. 1/35, fo. 190; *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 250.

³ Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 47.

iii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

given Middleton his sailing orders they were supplemented by an order, on May 29, 1741, that he was "not to give any Disturbance or Molestation to any of the Ships or Sloops employ'd in the Service of the *Hudson's-Bay Company*, but to give them all Protection and Assistance that lies in your Power, whenever any Opportunities offer of your being serviceable to them".¹ In its turn, the Committee of the Company supplemented its orders to Isham by a further order to all factories that "if Capt. *Middleton*, who is sent abroad in the Government's Service to discover a Passage to the North West, should be obliged to resort to you, you are then to give him the best Assistance in your Power".²

To Dobbs, anything but hostility to the Company which had "trifled" with him, in that Napper's voyage had not discovered the passage, was only to be explained by bribery and corruption, and he later had no hesitation in stating that the Company had offered Middleton a bribe of £5,000 at this juncture and that although the latter refused the offer he was nevertheless impressed by it and conducted his voyage accordingly so as not to harm the Company or his reputation with them.³

Middleton therefore left London in 1741 in the knowledge that the Company would give him that aid which his knowledge of northern conditions convinced him was necessary, sure that he would have Churchill River as a base from which to operate and that James Isham had been ordered to Churchill and instructed to behave well towards him. It was then a formality with him to call together his "Council" as his expedition entered Hudson Bay and get them to adopt the plan of wintering in the Bay. They then proceeded to Churchill to carry out this plan.⁴

The *Furnace* and *Discovery* arrived off Churchill on August

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

² *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 250; A. 1/35, p. 198. Christopher Middleton, *A Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs, Esq.*... (London, 1744), p. 81.

³ Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 46 et seq.; Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 55-7.

⁴ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 223.

8, but Isham did not leave York Fort to take up his command there until 10th of that month,¹ so that Middleton was met by Robert Pilgrim, temporarily in command and with no particular instructions on the subject. Pilgrim carried out the instructions for meeting strange vessels which did not make the appropriate signals on approaching the fort. He shotted his guns and made ready for vigorous defence. When he fired a gun at the ships Middleton ran up the white flag and sent an officer ashore with a copy of his orders, on which Pilgrim accepted the ships as English.² The early troubles were soon surmounted, the two ships were brought to a safe anchorage, and by the time that Isham arrived to take over his post Middleton and his crews were all set to spend the winter at Churchill so as to set forth in the early summer, in accordance with their accepted plan.

This, as Isham knew from his official orders, was within the scheme contemplated and agreed by the Committee in London. How much more he knew cannot be guessed at; nothing remains save surmise. He had, however, not left York until Thomas White had arrived. White had been in London during the negotiations with Middleton and had discussed the matter with the Committee; he received no official orders as to the treatment of Middleton should he call at York "wich I presume may have been forgot your Honours having promised the same to me at the Board".³ But although he had no official instructions he obviously knew the Committee's mind on the problem. There can be no doubt that White discussed the expedition with Isham and that the latter left for Churchill prepared to deal with Middleton according to his written instructions (for Isham was a clerkly man who would not depart from written instructions) and informed in conversation as to the way in which those instructions were to be interpreted.

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 104.

² B. 42/a/23, fo. 4d.

³ A. 11/114, fos. 104d.-105.

IV

ISHAM AT CHURCHILL

Isham and Middleton were acquaintances of some years' standing and amicable relations were soon established. The ships were drawn above high water mark and docked, and men and equipment housed for the winter. The trade post had just been moved down from Knight's old post five miles up the river to the stone fort, so Middleton's men were accommodated in the old post whilst he and some of his officers were given quarters in the fort. The old post was made habitable and supplies and clothing to see the men through the winter were provided, whilst Indians were recruited to hunt for the expedition. Isham was most helpful in making these arrangements, and it was alleged that in providing accommodation in the fort for Middleton and his officers he obliged some of his own men to winter in the woods.¹

In the seclusion of the Arctic winter the common-sense of Isham and Middleton, backed by their knowledge and experience, pulled them together as against the ignorance and obsession which marked some of Middleton's companions. To such an extent did this work that Isham was later closely questioned to make sure that he had not sacrificed the Company's interests to those of the expedition, whilst Middleton was roundly accused of having sacrificed the expedition to the Company.

The basic problem here was the protection of the Company's trade. In order to secure that promise of co-operation from the Company which Middleton knew to be necessary, the Admiralty had given him orders (at his own request as Dobbs alleged) to protect the Company's trade, "which was to be a Sanction to him afterwards for *all* his Favours and Complaisance to the Company".²

¹ Dobbs, *Remarks*, p. 59.

² Ibid. ; Middleton, *Reply*, pp. 80-1. Cf. pp. li-lii.

The truth here is almost certainly that when the onus of actual responsibility for the expedition was laid upon him Middleton suffered a slight change of heart whereas Dobbs did not. In 1738 they had both been equally disappointed and suspicious at the failure of Napper's expedition. Their genuine enthusiasms for discovery and the Northwest Passage had then been fanned into opposition by their personal feelings. In Middleton's case there had been the fact that he "had been disappointed by the Company as to something I thought I had a Right to expect from them"; this was most probably because his own remarks on the project had been ignored and his own proposal for a voyage snubbed.¹ He had been eager to engage in such a voyage throughout his career and had eagerly read all the documents he could obtain on the subject.² His disappointment was obviously deep and bitter, and it was in this mood that he left the Company's service.

In Dobbs' case the disappointment was the natural reaction of the man to the feeling that he had been trifled with over Napper's expedition. In him there was thenceforth nothing but "open enmity" for the Company in all his dealings.³ At this time it appears to have been Middleton who first suggested that the Company's charter might be invalidated, especially if it had not been confirmed by Parliament. Discovery might then be financed by a group of merchants provided that they could "have the Liberty of trading in the Bay, without being called to an Account for it".⁴ Nevertheless it was Dobbs who paid for a legal opinion on the charter and got the dictum from the Attorney General that "they had no right to an exclusive Trade, but every Merchant in England has an equal Right to trade there".⁵ And it was probably Dobbs who lay behind the

¹ Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 6. Middleton had been asked his opinion on Scroggs' Journal by the Company during their historical enquiry in 1735-36 (cf. p. xlvi) and had "incurred the Displeasure of some of those Gentlemen, for declaring my Opinion so freely for a Passage... I offered to undertake it for them, but they cared not to come into the Proposal". (Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 116-17.)

² Dobbs, *Remarks*, p. 9.

⁴ Ibid., p. 104; Middleton, *Reply*, pp. 83, 96.

³ Ibid., p. 72.

⁵ Ibid., p. 60.

shipment on board the *Discovery* of a consignment of trade goods. These goods Middleton, in the new frame of mind in which he had sought and obtained the promise of the Company's hospitality, impounded on the voyage before they could be used.¹

So although it had been Middleton who in the early stages of the joint adventure had, upon his own admission, supplied Dobbs with a list of trade goods used by the Company, and who had so far condoned a proposal of "going Partners in the Fur Trade and to fit out a Ship to that End" as to suggest taking counsel's advice,² nevertheless it was also he who effectively prevented any such activity. It is not surprising therefore that his action in impounding the trade goods roused very considerable comment and ill-feeling.

Dobbs denied that he had any share in the trade goods, or that they had gone aboard at his orders (indeed, he accused Middleton of being a party to the shipment and of impounding the goods only when he had been worked upon by the Company). Nevertheless Dobbs admitted that, had he been involved he would have thought it not only fair but laudable, and it is clear that the profits of the fur-trade had already begun to play an important part in his plans.³ Middleton, on the other hand, not only seized on the trade goods which he found on board but, during the winter at Churchill, forbade his men to have any dealings with the natives and in the spring when the Indians came in to trade he allowed two of the Company's men on board to ensure that there should be no clandestine trade.⁴

The complaisance of the Company undoubtedly did much to alleviate the rigours of the winter for the explorers. Middleton and his officers also did what they could—perhaps mistakenly. As diversions there were marchings from the fort to the ships, two miles distant, with drums beating and colours

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 77; Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 49; Dobbs, *Remarks*, p. 58.

² Middleton, *Reply*, pp. 77, 83.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–9; Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 60, 72.

⁴ B. 42/a/23, fos. 35d. et seq. Middleton, *Vindication*, pp. 65, 82–3.

flying, on such occasions as the King's birthday and the anniversary of the coronation. A fireworks display celebrated Gunpowder Treason, and copious quantities of liquor were also produced to celebrate such occasions. The standard issue on such days was thirty gallons of brandy to make punch, and it is not surprising that "the evening concluded with all possible demonstrations of joy, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of the natives".¹ For the Christmas celebrations, which lasted twelve or fourteen days, Middleton decided to "give our people strong beer and brandy every day all the time", and when the English beer was all expended by Christmas Eve the issue was changed to "spruce beer and brandy, the only means used here to prevent the scurvy".

The sober Isham has left no particular comment on this lavish use of spirits, but the treatment failed to stave off the scurvy, and probably made the men more prone both to scurvy and frostbite, at least up to the point at which the medicinal spruce beer took its place in the potations. The winter was a hard one and fresh meat was hard to come by; the Fort's hunters were few and were fully occupied, and although Isham sent to York for assistance it was some time before the reinforcements arrived.² Meanwhile the crews had begun to suffer heavily both from scurvy and frostbite. On February 4 Middleton's entry in his log reads "This evening our surgeon came down from the old factory, after cutting off the men's toes, and the flesh of several that were froze and mortified. There are four men at the old factory very bad with the scurvy, twelve at the new factory very ill with the scurvy, the country distemper, and froze; twenty-five at both places, belonging to both ships, not able to go abroad; and several not able to help themselves".³ By the end of the winter eleven were dead of scurvy and several others sorely stricken; one had been drowned, and one had died a natural death.

¹ Middleton's Log. Extracts printed in Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, p. 110 et seq.

² B. 42/a/23, fos. 6, 7d., 10d., 13d.

³ Middleton's Log; Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, p. 113.

The coming of spring and fresh provisions wrought a change, but both ships when they set forth were still "so ill-officer'd and mann'd, and in so bad Health" and the crews such "poor scorbustick Creatures" that nothing but the utmost vigilance on Middleton's part saw them through their ordeal.¹ This was despite the fact that during the winter the officers of the expedition were, as Isham reported, continually inducing the Company's men with liquor, fine words and promises of preferment, to join them. They actually got five of the Fort's complement, including two sailors, and must have upset the domestic labour problem very considerably. Isham felt strongly on this seduction of his meagre personnel, and the Company ultimately decided that since the men had left the Company's service before their contracts were expired their wages were forfeited.²

In this matter Middleton was content to place the needs of the expedition before the friendship of the Company; and he roused Isham's resentment. But in other matters they worked together. Before the expedition set forth Isham, sweetened by a present, persuaded two Northern Indians to accompany it. As part of the arrangement Middleton promised to set the Indians ashore, suitably provided, and he ultimately did so on the last day before he set his course for England—an action which carried out his promise to Isham and left the Indians where they belonged, but which caused a further series of charges against him on the ground that he was preventing the Indians from coming to England, spreading knowledge of the Company's affairs and stimulating interest in further discoveries.³

In return for Isham's good offices in securing the two Northern Indians, Middleton in his turn forbade his lieutenant to abduct from the Fort a third Indian who would have acted as interpreter, but who was vital to the Company's trade. Even "when the Lieutenant told him, he would take all the

¹ A. 11/13, fo. 75d.; Middleton, *Vindication*, pp. 146, 148, 163, 151.

² A. 11/13, fo. 75d.; A. 1/35, fo. 331.

³ Middleton, *Vindication*, pp. 61-3, 78-9, 119.

Blame, in case any Complaint was made of it ", since it was for the good of the service, he still refused.¹

This, however, came too late to help Isham in his troubles. During the pre-Christmas festitivites three of his men got drunk and were put in custody for their own protection since they were " offering to risk life by going away and lying down to sleep by the river ". One of them was put in irons for " Scanderlizing my Chief Officer and making a Disturbance " but he broke the lock and got away, for which he was " brought to the Bar " when caught and given twelve lashes " that he might behave better for the future ". The other two escaped to the woods and when caught four days later (on Christmas Eve) were given twenty lashes apiece " for a Warning to them, and all the Rest being Present, not to do the Like again ". The presence of the ships, with their drink, and with Middleton asserting that he had no power to refuse the services of any man who offered to join him, inevitably made Isham's troubles keener. And when differences with Middleton led the latter to proclaim that he would make " Such a Seizure of my men which wou'd be Very Unpleasing to me ", Isham did not know which way to turn, and he ended his account of the winter with a request that " if any more of His Majesty's Ships Winters here I may have a more Fuller Order in what Manner to act ". Certainly he had grounds for asserting that in this respect Middleton " did not Show himself to be a well wisher to Your Honours Interest ".²

Consonant with this behaviour on Middleton's part was his setting of the expedition's craftsmen to do jobs around the fort. His carpenters put a new keel into a sloop belonging to the Company in return for an agreement that if the expedition should need the vessel it would be made available, and the joiner repaired and lined the quarters which Middleton and his officers were allotted. The expedition's armourer and his mate also repaired some of the Company's fowling pieces, partly in return for permission to use the Company's workshop,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

² A. 11/13, fo. 76; B. 42/a/23, fos. 18d., 39.

lx OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

partly because the guns were lent to Indians who would hunt for the expedition. He was "very serviceable to your Honours Interest", as Isham reported.¹ In all of this there was manifest a spirit of co-operation, as when Isham lent two longboats for landing the expedition's goods and the carpenters then made good the damage—which was in any case necessary if they were to use the boats to re-embark their goods in the spring.² Middleton was acting in a friendly way, but whilst not treating the Company's property and personnel as trifles he was serving the purposes of his expedition at the same time. Without any hostile animus he yet behaved sensibly and primarily with regard to his own interest.

Isham also seems to have handled matters with sense and good feeling. The expedition was charged to the full for all goods which were supplied and Middleton himself had to pay the 300 per cent. advance on English prices which was the standard charge.³ Isham protested angrily and sent in his bill when the expedition burned the old limekiln at the fort for firewood and did other damage,⁴ and he never pretended that Middleton was anything but a very troublesome "guess".

The two men were in opposite camps; but they had in common a knowledge of Arctic conditions and a genuinely scientific interest in the problems of Northern exploration which brought out in them a mutual respect and tolerance. They accompanied their business deals with presents, some of them apparently of considerable value;⁵ but apart from Dobbs' jaundiced accusations of Middleton there was no suspicion of corruption between them. Isham stood by and shared Middleton's experiments in making observations of the heavenly bodies,⁶ and from the similarity of their remarks it is

¹ B. 42/a/23, fos. 37d., 38.

² Middleton, *Reply*, pp. 60-1; Dobbs, *Remarks*, p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ A. 11/13, fo. 76.

⁵ Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 50-1; Middleton, *Reply*, pp. 62-3; Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 62.

⁶ Infra, p. 70. The similarity of Middleton's description of the houses and clothing (Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, pp. 130-1) to that given by Isham (infra, pp. 69, 117, 172) is remarkable.

probable that they perused each other's notes on other matters, though whether Isham read through the first draft of Middleton's "Effects of cold" or Middleton read through the first draft of Isham's "Observations" cannot be guessed. They were, at least, interested in the same problems and shared the same difficulties, and when the winter was over and the expedition set sail for Wager Inlet in July, 1742, it was with Isham's blessing, and he subsequently wrote very strongly in support of Middleton's treatment of his crews whilst he had been at Churchill.

It was, however, a "most miserable slavish Life" for the expedition's men, and it was alleged that wintering at Churchill broke their spirits.¹ Small wonder therefore that the mutual respect between Isham and Middleton should have aroused hostile comment, especially when Middleton's friendship with the Company's officers was to a large extent based on a well-merited contempt for the incompetence of his own personnel. He would perhaps have done better to disguise this feeling, but he gave utterance to the statement that he could go on the voyage without anyone being the wiser, whether there was a passage or not. This, he alleged, was uttered only to his own people on board his ship, as a reproach to their ignorance and stupidity and their aversion to being instructed; "Besides the Lieutenant and the two Masters, there was not a Man in either Ship, skill'd enough in Sea-affairs to have so much as guess'd in what Part of the World he was, without being told". To this remark, in the later controversies, was coupled another conversation with Isham, in which Isham and his men "jeeringly said, he and his People were to be regarded as a kind of Enemies, and that he answered, perhaps they might find him a better Friend than they imagined". In this he was referring to his instructions to protect their trade and to the action which he had already taken in that direction by impounding the trade goods he had found on board.²

¹ Dobbs, *Remarks*, p. 50.

² For this episode, see Middleton, *Vindication*, pp. 48-9, 82; Dobbs, *Remarks*, pp. 58, 165; Middleton, *Reply*, p. 74; and *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 223.

lxii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Such exchanges were natural enough in the atmosphere of not-unfriendly opposition which existed between Isham and himself. But Middleton's remarks, when coupled together, built up into a boast that he could be a friend to the Company by concealing the existence of the passage which he had come to seek. Here was a basis for the bitterest suspicion when in the end he reported that there was no passage.

Had Middleton's voyage produced the results expected of it, his winter at Churchill would probably have passed without remark. But he reported on his return that Wager Inlet was a river and could not be the passage to the West and that "Undoubtedly there is no Hope of a Passage to encourage any further Trial between *Churchill* and so far as we have gone; and if there be any further to the northward, it must be impossible for the Ice, and the Narrowness of any such Outlet, in 67° or 68° of Latitude, it cannot be clear of Ice one Week in a Year, and many Years, as I apprehend, not clear at all".¹

Herein Middleton has been fully justified by subsequent research, as he was by contemporary enquiry. His accuracy on the major point, that there was no passage to the West from Wager River, is unaffected by his inaccuracy in minor points, although his slips gave Dobbs some basis for the charges which he brought.² There had been enough in Middleton's conduct to arouse suspicion in a less perverse man than Dobbs. From a proposal to attack the Company's trade Middleton had veered to protecting it; from a lifelong advocate of a North West Passage he had fallen to denying its practicability even if it existed; and he had spent the winter in which he was supposed to be preparing to demonstrate the incapacity and lethargy of the Company in the undisguised conviction that the Company's Factor James Isham was better company and better informed than his own officers. Dobbs made no doubt of Middleton's treachery. For him there could be but one

¹ Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 125.

² Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, p. 26 et seq.; Middleton, *Vindication*, pp. 30, 54.

explanation of the final report, that Middleton had sold himself to the Company.

Dobbs was not a man to nurse such a conviction in silence. Nor would Middleton's reputation and his need for further employment with the Admiralty allow him to accept in silence the slurs cast on him. There followed therefore a succession of accusations and counter-accusations, of acrimonious pamphlets and a Court of Enquiry at the Admiralty. Eventually Middleton emerged justified, but under a slight cloud,¹ whilst Dobbs was defeated but not silenced.

Meanwhile Isham continued his command at Churchill, where the trade prospered² and the fortification of the post absorbed much of his attention. He found that the walls on which so much time and money had been spent were "not bedded with Mortar nor well Bonded, which has occasioned part thereof to fall down" and he took down one of the defence walls adjoining the river and rebuilt it eight feet further inland. He also revised the defence plan and, contrary to his orders, sited six cannon at the Factory itself instead of at Cape Merry.³

In pursuance of their plan to divert their "safe" trade from York to Churchill, the Committee instructed Isham in 1741 that "our Intention being to remove and Introduce our Trade as much as we can prudently from York Fort to Churchill River (where we are better Fortifyed and in greater safety) we do recommend to you in a particular manner Mr. White that you endeavour to prevail and persuade as much as possible the Indians to Carry their Goods to Churchill River where we expect from you Mr. Isham that you will invite them by your kind usage and treatment to come yearly". White and Isham agreed on this policy and did their best to put it into effect.⁴

¹ Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 210-11; Middleton, *Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton*; Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence*; and Middleton, *Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs*.

² Returns rose from 14,288 $\frac{11}{12}$ Made Beaver in 1741 to 18,540 $\frac{1}{2}$ Made Beaver in 1743. B. 42/d/21, fo. 1.

³ B. 42/a/23, fos. 41d., 42, 42d. B. 42/a/24, fos. 28d., et seq.

⁴ A. 6/6, fo. 100d.; A. 11/114, fo. 104; B. 42/a/23, fos. 20, 21d.

Isham was already known for his knowledge of and sympathy with the Indians and their ways¹ and his post prospered accordingly, although his successor when he ultimately came home in 1745 put in a report that the Factory had been mis-managed.²

During this comparatively uneventful period of his career Isham was already a victim to gout despite his temperate habits. By 1743, when he heard of Middleton's troubles and wrote to him, he reported that "As for my part I have sent to return Home, but doubt shall not enjoy that Happiness, having been sixty Days this Winter not able to go out of the Room by the Lameness in my Thigh, and a Fever that remains very violent".³

He found that the climate at Churchill suited him far less than that at York, and his constant illness must have reacted on his conduct of the trade, which this season was very poor.⁴ It was during this period of forced idleness, a period in which it had become very obvious that both the Committee and its opponents in England were generally ignorant of conditions at Churchill, that Isham devoted himself to the compilation of his *Observations*, illustrating his statements with the careful drawings (not always completed) of a man whiling away days of sickness and inactivity.

¹ Cf. p. 325.

² A. 11/13, fos. 88-90; A. 1/36, p. 322.

³ Middleton, *Reply*, Appendix, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*

V

THE OBSERVATIONS

Isham's *Observations* were probably submitted to the London Committee in 1744, and would have enlightened those gentlemen very considerably had they been read. For the *Observations* are full of minute and practical detail such as even those Englishmen who were interested in the Bay lacked. The controversy between Dobbs and Middleton was as yet only brewing up, but in its course it revealed the general ignorance. The controversialists produced "abundance of rubbish and impertinence" and when Dobbs came to publish his *Account of the Countries adjoining Hudson's Bay* it was "so erronius, so superficial, and so trifling, in almost every circumstance. So contrary to the experience and concurrent testimony of every person who have resided in that country, or of those who have used it any considerable time, that when it first appeared it was matter of astonishment to all those who may be supposed to be competent judges".¹ Those with real knowledge were "all at gaze to know when the farce was to end". But such as it was, Dobbs' *Account* was the only public description of the country, for Isham's *Observations* were immured in the Company's offices, where it is very doubtful if they were read.

In concocting his *Observations* Isham was undoubtedly indulging a hobby. He was of a curious turn of mind, and his interests clearly spread over a period of years. He probably kept a commonplace book and wrote out his fine volumes during his illness "in cold Days and Long winter Nights" out of sheer boredom and lack of "Divertisment" and to escape from "the Vapour's". His industry and his keen personal observation were peculiar to himself, but his motives in sending the document home were true to the tradition established by James Knight and maintained throughout the period of

¹ Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, pp. 1-3.

lxvi OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Governor Sir Bibye's dominance. His vocabularies were intended for the education of those who should be sent to trade, while his "small Observations on the Country" were presented for the perusal of the Governor and Committee.¹ Here, as in other matters, one can see the shade of James Knight standing behind Isham, with his remark that his 1716 Journal is "a more particular account of your Country then yett you ever have had from any one heretofore" and his suggestion that their Honours should give themselves the trouble to read it.²

Although Isham's intention in sending his *Observations* to the Committee was clear enough, and although the Committee accepted such items from the trading personnel with ease and affability, there is no evidence that Isham's work was either read or acted on. The document bears no marginal comments such as often denote that a document has been worked through for the benefit of the Committee, there is no mention in the Minutes of its receipt, and no action can be clearly ascribed to it.

This is not in itself remarkable, for the years 1743 and following were troubled years in which the Committee had enough to do to keep abreast of reports and correspondence directly concerning the trade and those who would share it with them. The *Observations* can hardly be counted such a document; its direct bearing on the business of the fur trade is not apparent, and at first glance it is at once an extremely interesting and an extremely disappointing document. Its interest lies in the mass of trivial observations which build up a picture almost without intention; its disappointment arises from the lack of technical training obvious at every step. Isham was trained as an accountant and a fur trader only; and although the *Observations* do indeed contain descriptions of the fur-bearing animals and the means of trapping them, the fur-trade as a whole, and its accountancy in particular, are neglected in the description. The mass of the *Observations* is given over to matters in which Isham was obviously an

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 3.

² A. 11/114, fo. 4.

amateur, at times a gifted amateur, but nevertheless one who inevitably fell short of professional standards. From this fact derives much of the freshness and appeal of his *Observations*, and much of their historical value in that they reveal the result of the impact of life in the North on an ordinary man. But their defects as a serious guide to practical merchants are easily apparent. Indeed, they hardly touch directly on that part of the problem, and therein must lie the reason for their lack of weight with the London Committee.

The Indian vocabularies were clearly first in importance in Isham's mind. Here he suffered from the defect, common to all his contemporaries, that the scientific study of alien tongues was unthought of, and that any use of a phonetic script was undreamed of. Although Isham hoped that his work would be of advantage to anyone residing in North America, his Cree vocabulary is even yet of little value for the purpose for which he designed it. But if the Indian equivalents claim little attention, the English words and phrases give a picture which is not the less clear for being unintentional. Here are set out the basic essentials of the Indian trade as Isham plied it. First the small talk of the weather and the seasons, the familiar gossip of health and the body and the family; then serious business—goods, food, furniture and beasts, fishes, insects and birds. Trees, berries and herbs take a small section and then comes a vocabulary for gathering information about a mine, followed by the numerals necessary for trade, and the colours, with adjectives in close attendance. There is also a short item on games, and a rather miscellaneous assortment of verbs concludes the main vocabulary. The whole pieces together without art, and probably without intention, to give a lively picture of the trader at his task, and the "Discourses" which follow complete the presentation of the trader and the Indians, complete and vivid from the first greeting of "Watcheer Coshock" to the farewell of "make haste itt will be night & you'l be drunk in the morning & not trade".¹

¹ P. 49.

lxviii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

In just the same way as the phrase books issued for trans-Atlantic visitors to Europe often started with "How much is a good clean room" and followed that up with "That is too dear", or "too dirty", and so on, thereby giving an unintentional but vivid record of the reaction of the American to the European, so Isham's phrases—"This tobacco has a bad taste, I will not trade itt"; "You are hard you will not pity me, I will not come any more" and many besides—show without effort the relations between Indians and Englishmen after fifty years of trading together. Not less significant are the hunting dialogues, depicting an Englishman and an Indian going hunting together, the Indian asking when the Englishman will go away and remarking "I shall greive when you go" and the Englishman ending with "You'l come again in the Spring".¹ Equally revealing is the hunting dialogue which runs "I am a hungry"; "What shall we eat"; "How much can you eat"; "I do not know"; "Here is but 2 of us we'll have six partridges, a piece of Bacon, two geese & some Dumplings, all Boyd shall us".²

The picture drawn unintentionally in the vocabularies and dialogues is followed by a fine full-length description of a band of Indians coming in to trade, the ceremony of the calumet and the harangues and presents. Such ceremonial meant little to Isham. One of his defects is that Indian customs were so often merely ludicrous to him. Their finery has no significance; to Isham it only makes the Indian look like a Merry Andrew. As a man to whom Indian magic was just "Very Umbersome" with "a hundred other tricks, which is Really not worth the observing",³ he must be the despair of the anthropologist, and it is difficult even to ascertain the tribes about which he is writing. But his approach to the social and economic life of the Indians is at least quite spontaneous, and as such it is all the more remarkable for the endless patience and tact shown both by the traders whom Isham describes and by himself in his dealings with the Indians. For Isham had found that "good usage and civility agrees well with these Natives,—if

¹ P. 49 et seq.

² P. 60.

³ Pp. 83, 98.

they grow obstabilious a Little correction, then sweatning makes them pliant ”.¹

The most valuable sections of the *Observations* are without doubt those dealing with natural history, particularly those describing the birds. Here Isham made a genuine and original contribution to knowledge. He was largely quoted by George Edwards in his pioneer “*Natural History of Uncommon Birds*”, who attributed to him descriptions of thirty hitherto unknown or little known specimens, and he brought home with him a collection of stuffed birds and beasts. His descriptions and illustrations place him without any doubt among the pioneers of Canadian naturalists, although even here he is capable of telling the reader that the bears live through the winters by sucking their paws.

For the most part, however, the *Observations* are based on personal experience, and this makes it all the more remarkable that the views on the trade and policy which Isham incorporated should have passed without comment. Perhaps the reason was that the Committee already knew something of Isham’s views, and suspected him of lack of purpose and some inconsistency. For the *Observations* contain some strange inconsistencies. They start, for example, by a letter of introduction from a “Disconsolate part of the world”, but then they describe the climate first as a “Very healthfull place with a fine sweet air”, a description quite at variance with his own experience and with his heart-felt remark later in the *Observations* that “as for my part the Very worst colour’s itt’s possable to Sett this part of the country off, is to good ”.²

Such obvious initial inconsistency probably prejudiced the Committee’s approach to Isham’s more serious (but still incidental) remarks about the Company’s trade, although nevertheless a great deal can be gleaned from those remarks. The French rivalry comes in entirely by the way when he tells his story of Indians who had been dispersed on a summer hunting expedition by a rumour that French wood-runners were in the vicinity. The wood-runners turned out to be some

¹ P. 81.

² Pp. 2, 66, 75.

Ixx OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

trees moving with the wind but the "Conceit" caused the death of three or four Indians. Similarly, the Indian Chief brings the French in during his trading dialogue—"the french sends for us but we will not here, we Love the English, give us good (brazl. tobacco) black tobacco"; and the pacifying policy of the English figures when the Elderly man declares his intention of going to war, and the factor "perswades them from itt as much as possable, and Desires them to make peace with those Natives, But they Seldom Regard such advice".¹ Here is evidence of the general problems of the fur trade all the more convincing for its artlessness and indirectness.

Of more serious import for the Committee was Isham's opinion on the problems of penetration and discovery. Here he was more outspoken and roundly declared his opinion that it was an error to "sitt quiet and unconcern'd while the french as an old saying, not only Beats the Bush but run's away with the Hair also". He was therefore against lying down Nelson River and advocated a post inland. He was also strongly in favour of sending men to make peace between the Earchethinues (Blackfeet) and their enemies so that the former might come down to trade, and he thought that a settlement might well follow the initial voyage. Again, he recounted the by now commonplace description of the copper-mine near the sea and, whilst refusing to believe that the sea could be frozen throughout the year nevertheless gave his opinion that access by sea must follow preliminary voyages by land.²

In this matter Isham was giving a serious and consistent opinion on a matter on which he had a right to be heard. He had not changed his views by 1749, when he gave evidence not entirely in support of his employers before the Parliamentary Committee of that year and held that "If Factories were higher up I beleive they would bring Goods to the lower Factories".³ But this consistency was theoretical rather than practical. For in 1743 Isham accepted that "Being troublesome times in England Now, must certainly be the

¹ Pp. 86, 99.

² Pp. 69, 113, 180.

³ H.B.C.Arch. Arthur Dobbs' Folder, May 4, 1749.

occation why our merchants of England Does not make further Discovery's to the northward, of Churchill, having at presant anough to do to mentain & Support the Settlements already in their possession ".¹ In 1749 he had found an even more fundamental reason for inaction, for he then thought that factories a hundred miles inland would prove impracticable owing to the high transport costs.²

The *Observations*, then, reveal Isham as a man who felt sympathy for projects of discovery but who felt (as he consistently advocated during his subsequent career) that more would be accomplished by two-man land voyages than by costly and dangerous maritime expeditions, and who was not at that time prepared to push his conclusions to the point of demanding action. He could always see the difficulties, and though there is much weighty advice in the *Observations* on this vital problem it is not surprising that it failed to stir the Committee into action.

That the *Observations* failed of practical effect is no defect in their make-up. They are most interesting reading, largely because the writer was so keenly interested in what he saw and described; the character of the shrewd and sympathetic trader builds up as one reads his pages of mis-spelt and rather garrulous English. And if one of the cardinal factors in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the English in North America during the eighteenth century was the organisation of the Committee under Sir Bibye Lake, the other equally important factor was that the Company was represented in the Bay by men like James Isham. If the *Observations* did no more than provide pleasant reading and a portrait of an eighteenth-century Chief Factor they would be quite invaluable; they are also a mine of incidental information for the historian and the anthropologist and a classic for the naturalist.

¹ P. 181.

² H.B.C.Arch. Arthur Dobbs' Folder, May 4, 1749.

VI

THE DOBBS AND THE CALIFORNIA

Spring, and comparative health, came upon Isham before he had completed the *Observations*, and there are many blank spaces in the manuscript which he had intended to adorn with drawings. By the middle of February he was "Intollerable well at Presant, thank God"¹ and the business of his post began to claim and to receive his attention. Some of this care went to the exploring of a local mine (which proved valueless),² some went into sending the *Churchill* sloop on its annual voyage to the North, and he was able to report an "Intollerable Good Voiage" in 1743.³ For the most part, however, he was occupied in the normal working of his post and in continuing the fortification both of the post and of Cape Merry.⁴

At such work Isham showed his competence, his independence, and his loyalty. In 1742 the factors at Albany and Moose protested that the appointment of the ships' captains to positions on the posts' councils was an infringement of the factors' independence. Their protest earned them only an outstanding rebuke from the Committee, who told them in the most forthright manner to devote their limited talents to fostering the trade of their posts and to leave the Committee to settle matters of policy and command. Isham, busy enough in all conscience at Churchill, took no part in the protest, and was not involved in the reproof.⁵ He may almost be considered as the model Chief Factor of the period.

Successful, and appreciated, though he may have been, Isham's health was such that he was anxious to get away from

¹ B. 42/a/24, fo. 23d.

² A. 11/13, fo. 82d.; A. 6/7, fo. 43d. See also p. 134.

³ B. 42/a/24, fo. 40d.

⁴ B. 42/a/24, fos. 41d., 42, 42d.; B. 42/a/25, fo. 28d.; A. 6/7, fos. 44d., 74d., May 10, 1744, and May 3, 1745.

⁵ A. 6/7, fos. 17d.-18d., May 5, 1743.

Churchill, and he must have rejoiced when the repercussions from Middleton's voyage led to a recall to London, for questioning, in 1745.

Middleton's report, supported by the sober evidence of many of his fellow-voyagers, was such as to vindicate his own character and competence, and to convince the Company that its dangers from that source were for the moment over. The factors were informed in the Letters Outward of 1743 that "In all appearance any such design is totally laid aside for the future", and Isham was not only given this information but was also told that his conduct towards the expedition had been satisfactory and had been approved by the Committee.¹

But Arthur Dobbs was not a man to be silenced by a failure, even by a failure to indict Middleton before the Lords of the Admiralty. For, as Middleton concluded in his *Vindication*, "a Passage is Mr. D——'s Philosopher's Stone, and must be sought for till found".² At first Dobbs accepted Middleton's account and congratulated him on his measure of success, thinking that Middleton would try again and in the meantime would help to "prepare Matters to attack the Company's Charter, and open the Trade, which I thought would be of great Advantage to *Britain*, by making Settlements, higher up the Rivers in better Climates, and by that Means securing that Country and Trade from the *French*".³ Middleton, however, had convinced himself that a passage was really impossible and he was against deluding the authorities into spending any more public money on a second attempt. And he thought it impossible to settle the lands or to lay open the trade owing to the lack of colonists and the difficulties of transport by river and canoe. He was convinced that nothing profitable could be done in this direction until the French had been driven out of Canada.⁴ In these views Middleton was in complete agreement with Isham,⁵ and they both proved shrewd prophets. For the lack of men able to voyage in canoes remained a

¹ A. 6/7, fos. 15d., 19d., 21d.

² Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 43.

³ Dobbs, *Account*, p. 105.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 107–108.

⁵ Cf. p. 207.

constant weakness in the Hudson's Bay Company; and it was not until Canada came under British rule that the rivalries between the St. Lawrence and the Bay fur routes and between fur trade and settlement were fought to a finish in the clashes between the North Westers and the Company.

Middleton may have been right both in his facts and in his conclusions, but he did not convince Dobbs. Scarcely was the latter assured that Middleton really had not advanced the discovery of a passage than he began to prepare new projects. There was now, in the midst of an active war, very little chance to persuade the Admiralty to repeat their venture, especially since Middleton had proved his case before the Admiralty, and Sir Charles Wager was now dead. But the animus against France, and against the Company as a feeble bulwark against the national foe, was strong in the country. Moreover, the publicity aroused by the pamphleteering between Dobbs and Middleton was drawing great attention to the fur trade and was leading to much jealousy of the charter in trading circles. Dobbs wove the two themes together in 1744 in his *Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*. The book, as its sub-title explained, aimed at " Shewing the Benefit to be made by settling Colonies, and opening a Trade in these Parts; whereby the French will be deprived in a great Measure of their Traffick in Furs, and the Communication between Canada and Mississippi to be cut off ". It was added that " The whole intended to shew the great Probability of a North-West Passage, so long desired; and which (if discovered) would be of the highest Advantage to these Kingdoms ".

The *Account* was partly based on the evidence of Joseph la France, a renegade French-Canadian woodrunner who undoubtedly knew the territories and the fur trade well, and who had made his way down to York Fort from Michilimackinac in 1742. La France's account was mingled in with the very considerable knowledge which Dobbs had by now acquired by his voracious reading and persistent enquiries, and the chief conclusion at which he arrived was that although the trade at Churchill was increasing " it being at too great a

Distance from the *French* for them to interfere in the Trade " this was about the only cause for complacency. The natural fertility of the soil, and the chances of growing subsistence crops, were being neglected whilst the trade from York and its hinterland could be vastly increased by maintaining posts in the interior and by lowering the Company's standard of trade, so that the Indians would have less far to come to trade and they would be encouraged to bring a vast bulk of furs which (as La France alleged) were not worth transport under present conditions.¹

The conclusion was that " upon opening the Trade, and settling in the Bay, a very great Improvement may be made to our Trade . . . and the whole may be had without Danger or Difficulty, altho' no Passage should be found to the Western Ocean ".² But if despite Middleton " an easy Passage should be found by Sea from *Hudson's Bay* to that vast Western Ocean, and a Trade to it be open'd to all the Merchants in *Britain*, it may, from the foregoing Discoveries and Observations, plainly appear, that a most extensive, as well as beneficial Commerce, would be laid open to *Britain*, preferable to any other Nation in *Europe*".³

This argument was pursued by a fierce attack on Middleton, with the allegation that " notwithstanding all his Art in concealing a great deal, and disguising more, in his Journal, enough is discovered in it, to shew he was in the Passage, and that if his Inclination had been as good as his Ability, he could have made a considerable Progress in the Discovery of the Passage last Voyage ". Middleton's failure " seems plainly done with a Design in him to compliment the Company at the publick Expense, that he might have it in his Power to gratify them by concealing the Discovery; and thought from his Character of being an experienced Sailor, no other after him would pretend to look after it for the future, which would quiet the Company in the Possession of their darling Monopoly in the Bay ".⁴

¹ Dobbs, *Account*, pp. 39, 43, 46, 47.

² Ibid., p. 71.

³ Ibid., p. 158.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 71-2.

The attack on Middleton was sustained and bitter; but it was subsidiary to the attack on the Company. Dobbs had reached a stage in which the arguments for a North West Passage were by no means certain of a welcome in either official or public circles, and they were therefore used only as *a fortiori* arguments, reinforcing and increasing the advantages which England's trade would reap if the charter were impugned and the trade thrown open. So when Middleton, not understanding the development, offered his assistance for any further attempts but wrote that "I hope never to venture myself that Way again",¹ Dobbs took him at his word and sought his help in preparing an attack on the Company's charter. Although the arguments for a North West Passage lacked force for the moment yet they carried with them a legacy of an age-old aspiration of British seamen, and by skilfully confusing what he now acknowledged as his prime objective (the attack on the Company) with his former drive for the Passage, Dobbs made the Company's position extremely difficult. They had to distinguish two personalities in the one person; they had to tolerate and perhaps even to help the explorer whilst they resented and opposed the rival to their trade.

Moreover Dobbs' thesis, though doubtful in geography and full of personalities, was an attractive one in itself and it fitted exactly the stock arguments of eighteenth-century English mercantilism. He wrote of increased shipping and maritime power, of enlarged woollen exports, of increased employment and greater population and prosperity—all the accepted current themes. Small wonder that his arguments appeared "of such Weight, that many generous and public spirited Persons were inclined to give their Assistance, for the Prosecution of this Design"² and that in January, 1745, there was presented in the House of Commons a petition that since "The finding out

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

² H. Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay by the Dobbs Galley and California, In the Years 1746 and 1747, For Discovering a North West Passage . . .* (London, 1748), p. 100.

new Countries, in order to increase the Exports of our Manufactures, and improve the Commerce and Navigation of *Great Britain*, hath always merited the Approbation and Assistance of Parliament" the search for the North West Passage should now receive some help. Private persons, it was alleged, would not undertake the expense unless encouraged by "some public Praemium or Gratuity".¹

The petition was referred to a large and important Committee, containing amongst others Colonel Bladen, now Lord Mayor of London, all the merchants of the House, and all the members for sea ports. They prepared their report by February 20 and on March 12 the whole House, sitting in Committee, resolved "That the Discovery of a North West Passage, through Hudson's Straits, to the Western American Ocean, would be of great Benefit and Advantage to the Trade of this Kingdom.

"That, in order to encourage Adventurers to attempt the said Discovery, a public Reward should be given to such Person or Persons as shall make a perfect Discovery of the said Passage."

On these lines a Bill was prepared and put through, and it received the Royal assent on May 2;² thereby "the Legislature, after mature Deliberation, condescended to encourage the Undertakers, by offering a Reward of Twenty Thousand Pounds, in case the Discovery was made".³

With this incentive, a subscription list was opened for £10,000 to outfit an expedition, and the project was delegated to a Committee. This "North West Committee", of which Dobbs was the moving spirit, purchased two ships, the *Dobbs* galley of 180 tons and the *California* of 140 tons. They equipped the ships (partly at their own expense, for they had outrun their subscriptions) and they appointed Captain William Moor to command the *Dobbs* and Captain Francis Smith to command the *California*. Once more, as when he had

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 24, p. 720.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 738, 762, 791, 805, 817, 824, 845, 848, 891.

³ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, p. 100.

lxviii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

got Middleton to support him, Dobbs was forced to rely on the Company's personnel to command the expedition. Both Moor and Smith had sailed to the Bay as officers in the Company's ships, and Moor had also been second in command to Middleton in the *Discovery*.

In the general stirring of public feeling in which this project was conceived, pushed through Parliament and executed, the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company was kept fully informed, and it took counter-measures. The Middleton expedition, it now transpired, was not conclusive, was not the end of a chapter but the beginning of a new one. In February, 1745, the Committee of the House of Commons in the preparation of its report called for the journals of Scroggs, Smith, Crow and Napper in their voyages of discovery,¹ and proceedings in the House were anxiously followed. In March a General Court of the Company was called, to be told that there was a bill depending in Parliament for the encouragement of persons undertaking a voyage to the South Seas through Hudson Strait, and the Committee was then instructed to "take the best Care to hinder any Encroachments, on the Company's Trade Property, or Privileges".² The bill was already subject to a clause protecting the Company's trade, and the Committee could do no more. The search for the North West Passage scarcely disguised Dobbs' motives, but as a stalking horse it prevented the Company from directly attacking the project.

Dobbs had indeed made a rapid recovery from the reverse which Middleton's failure had brought him. But the position was as touchy for him as it was for the Company. The Parliamentary device of a reward for the discovery was not without its subtle irony; the earlier technique for encouraging overseas ventures by grants of land was inapplicable owing to the Company's charter, whilst the repetition of a voyage at government expense was equally ruled out by Middleton's successful defence of his conduct and conclusions. The device of a reward meant that public money would only be

¹ A. 1/36, p. 257.

² Ibid., p. 284.

expended if the expedition should prove successful and if the passage became available for English trade. Since Dobbs was now more intent on attacking the Company's trade than on proving the passage, he had not by any means got all he could have wished. The trade had not been thrown open and the new Parliamentary device meant that any expedition must necessarily be a private venture. There could be none of the correspondence between the Admiralty and the Company which had resulted in the orders for the factors to help Middleton. The *Dobbs* and the *California* could procure no government mandate and no letters of recommendation to the factors. On the contrary, the later developments were making the Company wonder whether the helpful treatment accorded to Middleton had not been a mistake.

Perturbed by this thought, and engaged in working out a policy for future occasions, the Committee reviewed the Middleton episode far more closely than had been done in the early days when it was thought that Middleton's failure would prove conclusive. Isham's Journal from Churchill was most carefully read over, and it bears clear evidence that there was a growing suspicion that he might easily have been less helpful to Middleton; co-operation between factory and explorers met with constant disapproval and every instance of help extended to Middleton was underlined. At times, as when Isham noted that the factory team hauled the expedition's beer up for winter storage, the margin carries an acid comment, such as "Why did not the Captain make the Sailors draw or carry this and other things?"¹

During this review of the situation Isham's fondest wish was realised, for he was called home for questioning. In 1744 he had been renewed in office for a further three years and it looked as though he would be doomed to Churchill for that time; but he was home in London, and welcomed by the Committee, in September, 1745.² The order to him to return went with the Letters Outward of May, 1745, at the height of the activity in Parliament.

¹ B. 42/a/23, fo. 7 et passim.

² A. 6/7, fo. 45; A. 1/36, p. 322.

lxxx OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

By the time Isham had obeyed the summons the Parliamentary proceedings were over, and the North West Committee was well on with its preparations. About this there was no secret, and the Hudson's Bay Committee must have discussed the matter on many occasions. There are, however, no records in the Minutes either of the attitude adopted towards the proposed expedition or of the Committee's discussions with Isham. The attempts to find a passage must nevertheless have been uppermost in their minds and the annotations to Isham's Journal give a shrewd notion of the way in which their thoughts were running.

In view of the direct orders to render help to Middleton which Isham had received, no fault could be found with his conduct. He had protected the Company's interests throughout and once more he emerged unscathed. This time, however, he received no formal statement that his conduct was approved, and to his fellow factors he was probably still under something of a cloud. For Thomas White, writing in from York Factory at this time and requesting a recall, hesitated to nominate Isham as his successor. "Next to Mr. Isham," he wrote, "cannot recommend to Your Honours a more proper person than Saml. Skrimsher and Mr.. Frost."¹ The Committee, however, was well enough satisfied to appoint Isham to York,² and he sailed in the early summer of 1746.

The *Dobbs* and the *California* also began their voyage from London on May 10, 1746, and they picked up the four Hudson's Bay vessels, outwards bound with the outfits of the year and with Isham on board, at Yarmouth. Proceeding to the Orkneys, the whole convoy was placed under the naval escort of Christopher Middleton, in command of the *Shark* sloop, and was seen well out into the Atlantic by him before he parted company and left them to pursue their voyages on June 16 or 17.

The sight of the Company's ships and their appointed Governor of York sailing under his escort in company with the discovery expedition must have given Middleton strange

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 121.

² A. 1/37, fo. 35.

thoughts. They parted company as soon as his control of them was over, for they had little in common, and their orders were completely hostile. Aboard the *Dobbs* sailed Henry Ellis, draftsman and "agent" for the North West Committee. He had his orders direct from the Committee and was not subject to any person or to any commands save such as the Committee had given him. His instructions, so far as they are recorded,¹ were innocuous enough—to make drafts of newly discovered countries, bearings and distances of headlands, rocks and shoals, to assemble tidal data, make notes of the soil and mineral deposits and "all kinds of natural Curiosities". The Captain's instructions were much more purposeful, giving them details of conduct and behaviour for all eventualities, whether they found the passage or not. Most significant, perhaps, was the order that "After passing the Bay, in case you meet any *Eskimaux Indians* in the Openings, endeavour to gain their Friendship by Presents, and in case they have any thing to trade don't refuse it, but rather encrease their good Opinion of you, by giving them more for their Furrs, &c. than is usually given by the Company, in such Goods as they chuse, so as to fix a Friendship with them for the future".²

As against these instructions we do not know what verbal advice Isham had received before he parted from the Committee. It cannot have been friendly, and it probably accorded well with his own views. For Middleton's vindication had convinced the Hudson's Bay Committee even if it had left Arthur Dobbs sceptical, and Isham had always been convinced, that nothing was to be achieved by maritime expeditions to the North. By the time he left London therefore both he and the Committee were genuinely convinced that only perversity and ignorance could make men venture seriously for a North West Passage, so that to them the *Dobbs* and *California* expedition was either a crazy and wilful denial of established geographical knowledge or something more reasonable perhaps but also more sinister—an attack on the Company's trade and territories.

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, pp. 104–105.

² Ibid., pp. 111–12.

But it was by no means certain that Isham would have any contact with the expedition once he had parted from it in mid-Atlantic. It was known that the expedition's men had no winter clothing and it was to be presumed that they did not intend to winter in the North; and even should they do so it was to be presumed that they would choose Churchill rather than York if they decided on any of the Company's posts. Isham therefore had no written instructions for his conduct towards the expedition, however much he may have known of the Committee's opinion on the subject.

His conduct was guided by his own feelings and the general instructions for behaviour towards any stranger. These orders were dictated by long-felt fear of France and by the fact that war with France had broken out in 1744. The Company therefore sent an extra vessel, the *Seahorse*, to the Bay with a complement of fifty men and instructions to stay there and act as a garrison,¹ whilst trade and discovery expeditions to the North were suspended until the danger was considered past.² A tariff of pensions and gratuities for wounds received in action was also issued, such as almost to make the men hope that any strange sail would be French.³ Transcripts of a stirring account of Governor Fullertine's defence of Albany in 1709 were sent out to the factors to breathe a martial ardour into them, and they were told to arm their men, to drill them once a week, to clear an arc of fire round their forts, and even to include reliable Indians in their defence. The ships of the year were assigned their role, which at York consisted in removing the buoys and beacons which were essential for a ship to approach the fort, and the factors were told in set terms "to fire point blank upon any Ship, Sloop, or Vessell, that shall come near the Factory unless they make the true Signal and answer yours".⁴

Since he had sailed half way across the Atlantic in their company there appeared little reason for Isham to treat the

¹ A. 6/7, fo. 42d.

² Ibid., fo. 43.

³ A. 1/35, p. 23; A. 1/36, p. 145.

⁴ A. 6/7, fo. 39, May 10, 1744; A. 1/36, p. 141.

Dobbs and the *California* according to these instructions, as though they were French, and his action in so doing brought down on him accusations both of wanton malice and of petty spite.¹ But whereas Isham had sailed in company with but two exploring ships, and had every reason to imagine that they were now far away from York Fort, the *Dobbs* and the *California* were first reported to him as four ships and he himself noted them as two ships and four boats.² Visibility at sea, especially in northern waters, is a chancy thing; the wearing of false colours until the first shot is fired is a recognised ruse of war at sea, and the Committee had been most insistent on the need for preparedness and valour. Isham's application of the only orders which he had received therefore seems warranted and it is clear from his letters and journal that he was at first genuinely uncertain. It was better to be safe than sorry, and it is impossible to imagine how he could have acted otherwise than he did. His precautions cost no life or property, but they appeared churlish to a degree and his subsequent conduct towards the explorers is likewise marked by a churlishness which appears at variance with his character and previous conduct. The arrogance and suspicion with which the expedition approached him in part explains this attitude; in part it is explained by his uncertainty as to his correct course of action; but for the most part it was due to the fact that he was profoundly out of sympathy with the explorers and their whole approach to the problem which they professed to be solving.

Already the discovery vessels had revealed some of their weaknesses, and the very appearance of the vessels off York Fort was in itself almost a confession of that perverse ineptitude which, to Isham, characterised the whole venture. After parting from the Company's ships the explorers had not had a happy voyage. A fire aboard the *Dobbs* had revealed the most

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, p. 149; Clerk of the *California*, *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Streights to the Western and Southern Ocean of America . . .* (London, 1748), I, 115 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, and p. 242.

alarming state of indiscipline; some few had kept their heads but "as for the Crew in general, their Apprehensions suggested to them a Variety of Expedients, which without weighing or considering, they one Moment endeavoured to execute, and the next abandoned through Distraction or Despair". Even the helmsman "reflecting on his Situation, and thinking it more dreadful than any other Persons", lost his nerve and allowed the ship to be taken aback. By luck the fire was extinguished, but it cast a sorry light on the organisation and command of the expedition and it is not surprising that, after visiting the Welcome and Marble Island, the Council decided to winter at "Port Nelson" rather than at Churchill or elsewhere, since it would be clear of ice the soonest in spring and was most plentiful in "Wood, Venison, and other Game, necessary for the Preservation of the People".¹

Accordingly it was Isham at York who met them on August 26, contrary to all expectation, and both he and the commanders of the expedition revealed that they had no particular mode of conduct laid down for such a contingency. Isham was forced to send hither and thither seeking copies of instructions and of the Act of Parliament offering the reward for the discovery of the Passage, the fourth clause of which allowed protection of the Company's trade² whilst the discoverers' Council was quite undecided under what head to demand his hospitality until Captain Smith (the most resolute character among them, if his clerk is to be believed) produced the argument that since they were chartered as privateers with Letters of Marque from the Admiralty they were entitled to any support which British subjects could afford them.³ Letters of Marque were normally taken out by any sea-going vessel in time of war, even by the Company's ships; they might warrant the capture of a small hostile ship if one should be met with, and the consequent prize-money, and they bore no particular commitment. They

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudsons' Bay*, pp. 123-4, 146; Clerk of the *California*, *Account of a Voyage*, I, 110.

² P. 247.

³ Clerk of the *California*, *Account of a Voyage*, I, 118.

were of no particular significance, but they served to quiet Isham, who really had no choice left since it would have been impossible for the ships to get out into the Atlantic or make any other arrangement so late in the season.

Henceforth Isham aimed chiefly at preventing any clandestine trade with the Indians, and for the rest gave advice only when to withhold it would have ensured disaster. His constant effort was to have the least possible contact with the expedition.

The accounts later published of their winter at York by Henry Ellis and by "the clerk of the California" differ considerably in detail and in spirit, but they are alike in depicting Isham as childishly surly in all his contacts—and they are probably right in so doing, for he regarded them as open opponents who nevertheless had the effrontery to demand his help. It was not their attacks on him and his conduct which drove Isham to take up his pen in defence of himself, although information from the North-west was news and both accounts received considerable publicity. He was moved by anger at their ignorance and pretentiousness rather than by their invective. For both writers made some claims to be naturalists and filled their narratives with descriptions of the land and the Indians and the beasts, and embellished them with drawings. Had they stuck to their narratives Isham would probably have kept silence. But they fitted to perfection his observation that "its a common Rule with some persons that writes a history of Voyages &c. for want of a proper and Just Subject to make a complete Book; they Enlarge upon things which is neither consistant with truth, Justice, nor honour".¹ It was above all their claim to authority as naturalists, on the strength of a single winter spent at York, which stirred Isham. His own careful *Observations* were lying, probably unread, in the Company's office whilst the superficial remarks of these tyros achieved wide publicity. It was too much, especially when Ellis added a further slur in the statement that the Company "commonly chuse their Factors

¹ P. 199.

lxxxvi OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

from amongst the meanest and most illiterate of their Servants".¹

Isham's *Notes* upon the voyage of the *Dobbs Galley* are therefore to a very large extent a continuation of his *Observations* in that their main object was to correct statements of fact made by Ellis. The *Notes*, like the *Observations*, are primarily concerned with natural conditions and natural history; only as a secondary matter do they concern themselves with the dispute which had arisen over the reception of the expedition at York. As far as that matter was concerned Isham had already cleared himself with his committee before he wrote his *Notes*. He had sent home in the normal course of events both his post journal and a copy of all his letters. These documents clear Isham's memory in a way which his *Notes* do not attempt and, since both of the accounts detracting from his character have long been published, it is but tardy justice that his *Notes* and his journal and letters should at last also appear in print. They reveal serious divergencies and lack of control in the expedition and show Isham's scrupulously correct behaviour, calculated to save the ignorance and unpreparedness of the discoverers from disaster but not prepared to do more than the barest minimum for people whose ultimate objective was, after all, to ruin the Company's trade.

It was Isham's contention that if the ships wintered up river above the factory they would inevitably intercept the trade, and Captain Smith made no attempt to conceal his intention to employ and to trade with the Indians if he could, for which express purpose he was determined to winter up the river. Smith eventually carried his point and the ships were berthed in Ten Shilling Creek despite Isham's claims that the situation would be dangerous in the spring when the rivers broke up, his urgings of the superior merits of Churchill or, if the ships must stay at York, of the greater safety of a berth at the Point of Marsh below the Factory. The utmost which Isham could accomplish was to produce his copy, discovered after much

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, p. 214.

search, of the act of 1745 with its clause protecting the Company's trade, and to exact a promise that no trade should take place.¹

Once this problem was decided Isham lent such help as was essential—the loan of a bricklayer for making chimneys, facilities for landing stores and for burying their beer. Co-operation to supply the expedition's men with winter clothing was complicated by private bartering between the men, by the non-surrender of the expedition's trade goods, and by their traffic with an Indian who was already heavily in debt to the Company. Eventually the business was concluded with the tailors of factory and ships working together.²

Within their log-tents, with their winter clothing and their fires, and with some Indians provided by Isham to hunt for them, the expedition managed quietly enough until the Christmas celebrations, in which two casks of brandy were consumed. Thenceforth scurvy haunted them, and by the end of the winter four men were dead and many more incapacitated.³

If the men were tolerably comfortable, their officers at "Montague House" could agree no better among themselves than they could with Isham—a predicament which he could not resist enlarging on to men who "ought to be as one mother's children". So grave were the disputes within the expedition that eventually Isham was even reduced to dividing between the ships the game caught for them, and he was driven to offer asylum to the troublesome clerk of the *California* and even to take in at the fort Captain Smith, who deserted both his men and his wife, so intolerable did he find life at Ten Shilling Creek, where he had not spoken to Captain Moor for two months.⁴

¹ P. 248, and Clerk of the *California*, *Account of a Voyage*, I, 120, 123.

² Pp. 253, 255, 260-1. The Clerk of the *California* says (p. 111) that lack of clothing was an objection to wintering but (p. 165) that Isham had sent each ship a number of tockies before they left the Orkneys.

³ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, pp. 179, 199.

⁴ Pp. 267, 277, 281, 282.

lxxxviii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

In all of this he protested his utmost desire to keep clear of the internal disputes of the expedition. But he could not avoid the suspicion of fomenting disorders, withholding fresh meat and even of causing wanton damage to the expedition's property. He would not have been human if he had not rejoiced at some of their many misfortunes and although he managed his correspondence well enough with Captain Smith, with Ellis and Moor he degenerated at times into sheer petty rancour. His duty demanded aloofness from him and it must be borne in mind that it was by keeping the men from the expedition and from the fort separate that he kept his own hands sober and at their work.¹ This time there was no seducing of the Company's men to make up the deficiencies of the ships and, despite the constant bickering and ill-feeling, the ships finally sailed on June 24, 1748, without major incident of any kind. Their departure is typical of the whole episode, the ill-preparedness of the expedition and the truculent cautiousness of Isham. Captain Smith sent in an arrogant demand for molasses, which Isham immediately refused. He countered with a request that if the wind should not favour their departure the ships would "Send men to fill the hole up where the Beer was"—and then, relenting, he wished them a "Good Voayge", sent them such molasses as he could spare, and took charge of a box of documents to be sent to England.²

On the whole, Isham's documents on the wintering of the *Dobbs* and the *California* cast much new light on the expedition and place his conduct before us in a much more reasonable aspect than the hitherto published accounts. But even so they still leave an unpleasant taste; Isham was not at his best in argument, and he shows no generosity save when he is dealing with the common men. Nor can he be entirely acquitted of suppressions and manipulations in his accounts. It was, for example, no ordinary Indian but "one of the Governor's Ladies" who was suspected of cutting a new cable belonging to the ships.³

¹ P. 306.

² P. 308.

³ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 224. Cf. p. 304.

In his defence it can be said that Isham was ill, that he was dealing with arrogant people making impossible demands, and that he had recently been closely questioned on his conduct towards Middleton but had not been given any clear orders to guide him on the present occasion. His report for 1747 asked "if any ships comes upon Discovery the next Year, that your Honors will please to send a proper person to assist me, as I think I am not capable of writing against, or answering so many Lawyers and others".¹ All of these considerations affected Isham in his conduct and go some way to explain the tetchiness which is so apparent; but the underlying cause was more fundamental, a conflict of personalities. Whereas he and Middleton had exchanged views even when their interests clashed, he held no unnecessary communication with this expedition and did not call on the explorers even when he had walked out to see how they were getting on. He felt he was dealing with men who were prejudiced and obstinate; they would not believe him when he said it was dangerous to winter in Hayes River just as they would not believe Middleton when he said there was no practicable passage. They were not open to conviction, and they were flouting his carefully considered views on two vital topics. They held that there was a practicable passage; and they held that a maritime voyage was a better way to open up the country than penetration into the interior. It was because he had so much in common with Middleton, both in his approach and method and in his conclusions, that Isham was so unhelpful and terse with these new explorers. He had nothing to share with the men of the *Dobbs* and the *California*, and the surliness which arose therefrom and which appears so clearly in his writings becomes, for anyone who has followed Isham in his career and in the development of his character, a condemnation not of Isham but of the expedition.

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 125.

VII

THE PARLIAMENTARY ENQUIRY

With the departure of the ships from York Fort the story of 1741 was closely repeated. Their cruise to the northward produced nothing of value save that they confirmed Middleton's conclusion that Wager Inlet "our hitherto imagined Strait ended in two small unnavigable Rivers; one of which plainly fell from a large Lake, which lay at some Miles Distance to the South West. Thus all our Hopes vanished, and we had nothing to console us for the Pains we had taken, the Time we had spent, and the Dangers we had run, but the Satisfaction of having done in this Respect, all that could be looked for from us, and having thereby cleared this Point, and left no farther room to doubt about the Issue of this Inlet".¹

For the Company, once more, this verdict should have meant the end of the episode. But, once more, Arthur Dobbs was not a man to accept defeat in silence; nor was Henry Ellis. Immediately after recording his disappointment over Wager Inlet Ellis insisted that "there were a great variety of Circumstances, many of them very strong, and such as amounted almost to a Demonstration, of there being still some Passage to another Ocean lying to the Northward, in that which Captain Middleton called *Repulse Bay*".² He was over-ruled in his proposal that the expedition should explore Repulse Bay, but he concluded his account of the voyage with the statement that "though we did not discover a North West Passage, yet were we so far from discovering the Impossibility or even Improbability of it, that on the contrary, we returned with clearer and fuller Proofs, founded on the only Evidence that ought to take Place in an Enquiry of this Nature, plain Facts, and accurate Experiments, that evidently shew such a Passage there may be".³

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, p. 258.

² Ibid., p. 265.

³ Ibid., p. 298.

This was not merely a rhetorical apologia such as might be expected at the conclusion of such an account. The "Third Part" of Ellis's book was then devoted to "Such Arguments, drawn from Matters of Fact, as serve to shew the great Possibility of a Passage by the North West into the South Seas, notwithstanding the same was not actually discovered in the Last Expedition". He concluded that the phenomena which he reported could only be explained by "allowing a Communication between the Waters in the *Welcome*, and those in the *South Seas*, by a North West Passage", that the passage could not lie very far to the North, that Repulse Bay and Chesterfield Inlet were the two most likely places in which to seek it, and that "another Expedition, properly conducted, cannot fail of producing an absolute Certainty, whether there is such a Passage or not".¹

The Clerk of the *California*, in his account, denied outright the very fact of some of the tidal observations on which Ellis built his case, saying that the observations had been "grossly misrepresented" and that there was "no one Circumstance, the Facts being truly stated, in favour of the Northern Tide from the Western Ocean".² But, such is the difficulty of proving a negative, in conclusion even he was "greatly staggered" in his opinion as to whether there was a passage or not, and he also felt that a further careful search should be made.

Depressing though such reports must have been, they scarcely affected Dobbs in his campaign against the Company. The expedition arrived in London in October, 1747, and Dobbs and the North West Committee received the reports. As in Middleton's case, Dobbs' reaction was that the "Adventurers" had been "defeated in their Expectations, by the Timidity, ill Conduct, or bad Inclinations of some of the Commanders and Council". He immediately took Counsel's opinion on the value of the Company's claim to an exclusive trade. Fortified by an opinion that the North West Committee,

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, pp. 323-332.

² Clerk of the *California*, *Account of a Voyage*, II, 282 et seq., 301, 315.

by virtue of its expenditure to date, "had at least as much Merit to plead as the Company had, when they obtained their Grant", he rallied his Committee—though some "quit"—and decided to petition the King in Council. His proposal now was that the North West Committee should be incorporated into a Company which should be given a grant of all the lands which it might settle or discover, and the right of exclusive trade to those lands for a period of years.¹

By the end of the year the petition was prepared and submitted. Backed by influential and wealthy subscribers, and urged by all the mercantilist arguments in which the statesmen of the day believed so profoundly, the petition could not be rejected out of hand by a government dominated by those doctrines.² Dobbs' petition was therefore referred to a Committee of the Privy Council on January 26, 1748, and on February 5 was submitted to the Attorney General and the Solicitor General for their opinions.³

Dobbs had not wavered, and he had achieved such speedy action as to cause the Company to prepare its case with equal speed. With two fruitless and expensive expeditions behind him, Dobbs now inevitably put the search for a passage into the background and set about an undisguised attack on the Company and its charter. His plea was that the charter was illegal in the first place, since it did not specify in detail the territories concerned; and in the second place, even if it had been legal, it was (he claimed) now forfeit since the Company had not prosecuted the search for the North West Passage, had not colonised and settled its lands, and had connived at French encroachments whilst resisting the settlement of British subjects.

¹ Arthur Dobbs, *A Short Narrative and Justification of the Proceedings of the Committee Appointed by the Adventurers, to prosecute the Discovery of the Passage to the Western Ocean of America* (London, 1749), pp. 6, 15 et seq.; *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, III, 776-7.

² For a list of subscribers, see Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, p. xxiii.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, III, p. 777.

This was no question of tides and winds and the navigational technicalities with which Dobbs had conducted his attack on Middleton and his advocacy of a North West Passage. It was now a question of climate, the possibilities of settlement and the growth of crops, of penetration into the hinterland, and of the actual conduct of the Company's servants in prosecuting voyages of discovery themselves and in receiving the two independent expeditions. The validity of the charter and, as far as the Committee could see, the very existence of the Company depended on a successful defence on these issues.

The first reaction of the Company to the *Dobbs* and *California* voyage had been, as with Middleton, a feeling of relief that the episode was over with no harm done. The ships outwards bound in 1747 had been ordered to succour the expedition if they found it in distress, but not to the prejudice of their own voyage, and not so as to infringe on the Company's trade.¹ With Isham's letters and journal in their hands the Committee felt reasonably secure, but they asked the factors what effect the expedition had produced on the trade and demanded copies of all papers, in order to review the matter thoroughly. In reply they were told that "We are not Sensible, nor can Learn of any Incroachments on the Company's Trade, or any Depradations done by the late Discoverers".² This was indeed true, and the failure to conduct a trade "was a heavy Accusation against the Captains by some concerned in this Undertaking, when they came Home".³ This immunity of the trade again proved a short-lived source of satisfaction however, and on March 10, 1748, a General Court of the Company was called, to be told that Dobbs' petition for the incorporation of a rival company had been sent to the Attorney General and the Solicitor General,⁴ and the Committee was instructed to prepare an opposition to it.

The affidavits in support of Dobbs had been prepared and

¹ A. 6/7, fo. 119d.

² A. 6/7, fo. 137d., A. 11/114, fo. 129.

³ Clerk of the *California*, *Account of a Voyage*, II, 59.

⁴ A. 1/37, fos. 268-9.

filed in February, but the Company could not get hold of its factors for counter-affidavits with such ease and speed. Some who could give the most vital evidence, including Isham, were not even in England, and it appeared at one time possible that the speed with which Dobbs was pressing his case might prove effective. The Committee therefore procrastinated and quibbled and managed to get the hearing before the Law Officers delayed until the end of April. By that time they had succeeded in getting together affidavits from Joseph Isbister, Thomas White, George Howy and Richard Ford, all of whom were available in England, from their four ships' captains, their Secretary and their Accountants, and from three prominent and influential London furriers.¹

The Committee's tactics proved effective. And they had a good measure of law behind them too. For the Attorney General and the Solicitor General reported in August that they would hesitate to condemn the charter as illegal until a test case had been brought and a verdict given to support such an opinion. They pointed out that if Dobbs wished to do so he could embark on a trade and if he was justified in so doing the ensuing verdict would justify him. They found that the claims that the Company had forfeited its charter by lethargy and abuse were "either not sufficiently supported in Point of Fact, or in a great Measure accounted for from the Nature and Circumstances of the Case", and they advised that it would probably only cause great confusion if Dobbs and his Adventurers were incorporated into a rival company.²

For the Company this was a most reassuring report. But Arthur Dobbs was nothing if not persistent, and by now the Company knew that no adverse verdict would deter him and that it could not afford to relax in its counter-measures. Whilst the fate of the petition was still doubtful the Committee had sent for Isham, who would probably be their key witness; much would perhaps depend on his accounts of his conduct as representative of the Company towards the expeditions. He

¹ Dobbs, *Short Narrative*, pp. 8-9 note; p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20 et seq.; A. 1/37, fos. 321 et seq.

was accordingly recalled to London in May, 1748, since "there are Several things which we have Occasion to Conferr with you upon".¹ He arrived in London in October.

By that time the immediate threat was over, and the Company was reasonably secure in the Law Officers' opinion that the charter was sound until challenged, and possibly sound even when challenged. It looked as though the next move would be for Dobbs to fit out a trading expedition to provoke a test case. But in common with the vast generality of such projects, his plans depended on a prior grant of privilege and protection. Without such a grant he could not attract the support of the investing public. Dobbs was therefore in a dilemma, unable to get incorporation until he had provoked the Company into a law suit, and unable to raise money to provoke the Company until he had secured incorporation. The North West Committee had already spent £10,000 for the discovery of the passage, and even Dobbs had long ago realised "it would be in vain to push it any farther that way".² In any case, there was no Parliamentary reward offered for challenging the Company's charter.

Dobbs therefore changed his ground, and so Isham's presence in London proved valuable after all. Although in December the Privy Council confirmed the Law Officers' opinion and rejected Dobbs' plea for incorporation, the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company was not given a final decision but was merely told that further proceedings on the petition were "postponed".³ Dobbs, thwarted in the Privy Council, now turned his attention to Parliament. A petition that the trade to the Bay might be opened and a new company incorporated was prepared and was circulated to canvass the support of the merchant communities of London, Glasgow, Liverpool and Bristol.⁴

At this stage even Dobbs lost heart, and it appears that his petition to the House was never presented. It met with some support from the merchants, but before they would sign it they wished to be sure that it would get effective support in the

¹ A. 6/7, fo. 139d.

² Middleton, *Vindication*, p. 122.

³ A. 1/38, fo. 9.

⁴ Dobbs, *Short Narrative*, p. 11.

House of Commons and it was accordingly submitted to "some Persons of Capacity and Knowledge in Trade, and of Weight in Parliament". Here it met "with an unforeseen Obstruction, from whence it was least expected". For "upon Application to a Gentleman of known Abilities, and extensive Knowledge in Trade, whose established Character had been to extend all Trade; and lay open all exclusive illegal monopolies in Trade, upon whom they depended for his Countenance and Concurrence in so laudable an Application, as they esteemed it, they were surprized and concerned to find he was in Opinion against it, and under a Prepossession in favour of the Hudson's Bay Company, that they had done their utmost in extending the Trade, that it could not be further extended, that by opening the Trade, and others embarking in it, might ruin their Trade, and the Whole be lost, and that it would be hard to attack the Company's property".¹ This mysterious parliamentarian was so powerful that even Dobbs refrained from naming him; he was possibly Sir Robert Walpole, whom Dobbs had managed to interest in Middleton's venture, but whoever he was he carried such weight that the merchants decided to proceed no further with their petition.

Dobbs therefore, after eighteen years' "trouble and attendance" at last gave up. He first published his *Short Narrative and Justification of the Proceedings of the Committee Appointed by the Adventurers, to prosecute the Discovery of the Passage to the Western Ocean of America; And to Open and Extend the Trade, and Settle the Countries beyond Hudson's Bay* including a copy of the petition involved. Then he retired, leaving the field to the Company and to "some more happy Adventurer".²

But although Dobbs made his attack on the Company such a personal matter he represented a very general feeling of the period. Parliament during the 1749 session dealt with a mass of affairs not dissimilar from the petition which Dobbs would have presented; there were petitions for bounties on linen exports, for forbidding the wearing of cambrics and French

¹ Dobbs, *Short Narrative*, pp. 3 and 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

lawns, from the woollen manufacturers, the iron manufacturers, the poor law administrators of many large towns, all pleading for some stimulus to trade and for a widening of markets. Above all, there was a long-drawn-out attack on the Royal Africa Company, its trade, its posts and its charter, an attack which was of a piece with that on the Hudson's Bay Company except that the Royal Africa Company was tottering on the verge of bankruptcy. There was therefore enough general feeling for the attack on the Company to go forward in the House of Commons spontaneously, even when Dobbs had withdrawn. In March, 1749, that part of the speech from the Throne which related to the advancement of trade was read and a Committee was appointed to enquire into the state and condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson Bay, and of the trade carried on there. The Committee was to consider how these countries might be settled and improved and the trade and fisheries there extended and was also to "inquire into the Right the Company of Adventurers trading into *Hudson's Bay* pretend to have, by Charter, to the Property of the Lands and exclusive Trade of those Countries".¹

Once more the Company had to call a General Court and to prepare its case.² The Committee of the House of Commons immediately got to work, sending for the opinions of the Attorney General and Solicitor General on Dobbs' petition of 1748. They met with some difficulty in sifting the evidence which they called and, for example, John Longland (ie., "Captain" John Longden, a former shipwright in the Company's service) was convicted of prevarication and was committed to the custody of the Sergeant at Arms. The Committee, too, was subjected to the full pressure of the powerful organisations then available for organising public opinion and bringing it to bear at Westminster. Petitions flowed in from all over the country praying that the trade might be thrown open—from London, Yarmouth, Stockport, Wolverhampton, Shrewsbury, Leeds, Hull, Liverpool,

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 25, *passim*, and p. 776.

² A. 1/38, pp. 47, 48.

xcviii OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Newcastle-under-Lyme, Carlisle, Clithero, Manchester, Halifax, Nottingham, Birmingham, Derby, Lancaster, Wakefield, Macclesfield, Wigan, Coventry, Ripon, Appleby, Whitehaven, Preston, Kendal, and from the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol.¹ The episode is a clear and remarkable example of the technique for bringing pressure to bear on the legislators, and of the strength of the mercantilist feeling which opposed the Company and hoped for wider markets for cloth and other exports.

It was significant, however, that the petitions now asked only for an open trade. The merchant communities which sent in their pleas, in almost identical terms, had reacted to the political realism of the pundit who had deprecated Dobbs' proposals, and had dropped the plea for a new chartered company which had been a feature of Dobbs' draft when it had been circulated to the provinces.

The Company's documents were sent for and examined, and on May 1, 1749, the Report was presented to the House sitting as a Committee of the Whole House, with the proviso that Counsel should be heard for both sides. The Company, in preparation for this, had prepared a petition, which was agreed also on May 1, and was presented by Counsel. On May 8 the Committee of the Whole House finally considered the matter, the report of the Committee, the petition of the Company, and the evidence of witnesses on both sides, including Isham, and decided that there was no case for annulling the charter or interfering with the Company's trade.

This Parliamentary enquiry and Report at last brought a measure of finality and confirmed the Company in its charter and its claims. The Report² as published in April, 1749, made available a multitude of documents from the Company's archives and the testimony of a number of witnesses in a

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 25, pp. 785, 809-10, 822-26, and *The Case of the Hudson's-Bay Company*, London, 1749.

² *Report from the Committee, Appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the Trade carried on there* (London, 1749).

manner which dispelled some of the secrecy which had hitherto surrounded the trade. Isham's treatment both of the Middleton expedition and of the *Dobbs* and *California* was the subject of enquiry, and his own evidence was sought. This was simple, and was entirely consistent with the views which he had held throughout his career. On the major problems involved he held that

- (i) adequate food for subsistence could not be grown, and settlements were therefore impossible on the shores of the Bay.
- (ii) inland posts might be necessary to provide opposition to the French, but they would find transport both costly and difficult.
- (iii) he did not believe that a North West Passage was practicable.

He was not questioned on his fourth cardinal belief and so did not give his equally consistent opinion that the best way to open the country and to increase trade was by the overland voyages of one or two suitable men. But he did take the opportunity to emphasise that sending inland to make peace between the Indians was an essential preliminary before it would be possible to bring the Indians down to the posts to trade.¹

Such views lacked flamboyance or even originality. But they were based on a ripe experience and sympathetic knowledge. The vindication of the Company by Parliament was as much a personal success for Isham as it was for the Committee, and for the rest of his life, as hitherto, he carried out the maxims which he had expressed in his evidence and which had been implicitly justified by the findings of the Parliamentary enquiry.

¹ H.B.C.Arch., Arthur Dobbs' Folder, Isham's evidence, May 4, 1749.

VIII

LAST YEARS AT YORK FORT

It is now clear that the Parliamentary enquiry really brought the opposition to the charter to an end. But in 1749 the Committee could not be so sure; there had been previous occasions when they had hoped that an adverse report would end the opposition! Rumours were current that the merchants were projecting a trade expedition to challenge the charter, so that a legal verdict would be obtained. The destination was to be the Nelson or Hayes River, and there was no inherent improbability in the rumour. Isham, the veteran of the struggle, was therefore returned to active service in 1750 with a command which would place him once more at the point of attack. John Newton was to remain in command at York, and Isham was to go to a newly projected house, to be called Flamborough House but to be situated on Hayes Island opposite Flamborough Head. Should the opposition come Isham was to use his knowledge of the trade and of the Indians to meet it.¹

But Isham arrived at York to find that Captain John Newton, under whom he was to have served, had paid a high price for his pleasure in a daily swim and had been drowned half a mile out to sea. Isham therefore took over York Fort, its books and papers,² and prepared to deal with an opposition. No interlopers came to interrupt him however, and at York he settled down, hampered by his gout, into much of the routine of his previous existence.

Northern voyages from Churchill, and to the Eastmain from Albany, had been resumed as peace with France approached,³ and Isham was able to organise and supervise some of that peaceful penetration up the rivers in which he believed so strongly. For him, as for all the factors, the chief

¹ A. 6/7, fos. 162d.-163d.; A. 6/8, fo. 44.

² A. 11/114, fo. 138d.

³ A. 6/7, fos. 43-43d., 70d., 141d.-142, 156d.; A. 11/2, fo. 120d.

enemy to trade remained the French—"Slie Sutle and artfull to perfaction"—whom the factors would always look upon "as Enemyes to the Company peace or warr".¹

Isham had met this French encirclement throughout his career, particularly in 1747, when, in the midst of his troubles with the *Dobbs* and *California*, he was already ascribing a decline in the returns from York to French interception of his Indians.² They had long ago approached him in amicable guise, as they had approached Albany; during his brief period of command at York they had also approached Newton with an offer of "un petit Comerce Cachez", to which he had replied that "My principals are too Generous to leave Room for any temptation of that Nature".³ Now Isham found them hemming in both York and Albany, and he placed them even above Indian wars and sickness in bringing low the fur returns; "it's the french that is our cheifest Obstical, they encreasing more than ever—stop all the Indians that comes to trade—takes the best and Lightest of the Natives Goods and send us the Remainder."⁴

This, with its allied problems, was the serious business of Isham's remaining years. The search for the North West Passage was not entirely over. The mantle of Arthur Dobbs fell on the New World and two ventures, to prove as fruitless as any he had sponsored, set forth from Philadelphia in 1753 and 1754. But this was nothing to the Company or to Isham. Their serious attention was devoted to the French. French goods, and their standard of trade, were sent for and seriously considered;⁵ Henley House had been established and was now maintained purely in order to deflect trade from the French,⁶ and Isham was largely instrumental in 1759 in persuading the Committee to build at Severn for the same reason.⁷ The

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 137.

² Ibid., fo. 124.

³ A. 11/114, fos. 98, 131; A. 11/2, fo. 74.

⁴ A. 11/114, fo. 124.

⁵ A. 11/2, fo. 137, August 22, 1748; ibid., fo. 141, August 10, 1749.

⁶ Ibid., fo. 114d., August 18, 1743; ibid., fo. 129d., August 22, 1746; A. 6/7, fo. 34, May 10, 1744; ibid., fo. 90d., April 30, 1746.

⁷ A. 1/41, fos. 47d., 49d.

policy of inland posts purely for rivalry, with the expectation that they would prove costly and difficult, was, in fact, being maintained. The orders which he and the other factors received during these years were authoritative repetitions of his own principles. They were to hinder French encroachment and instructed "that you do by all Lawfull ways and means Extend and Enlarge the Company's Trade to the utmost by bringing Over the leading Indians to Our Interest with Courtesy and the usual presents and by treating the Natives with Civillity and dealing Justly and equally with them".¹

More progressive, and more near to Isham's heart, was the policy of penetrating up the rivers by peaceful envoys, and it was in entire accordance with his own views that Isham was instructed to collect information of the hinterland of York,² and then to choose a proper person to send "a great way up into the country with presents to the Indians".³ He chose Anthony Henday and sent him on his historic journey in 1754. Henday's journey was not successful in bringing the Blackfeet to York to trade, but it was a pioneer journey of the utmost significance, to be followed by several such journeys organised by Isham, and ultimately to lead to Matthew Cocking's journey in 1772.⁴

Isham, now in comparative old age, with his gout, his giddy wife in England, his Indian family, his deep understanding of the Indians and his impatience with those who thought Indians were chattels to be ordered to one post or another, had become the "Grand Old Man" of the fur trade, the "beloved friend" and the "worthy master" of the new generation of factors.⁵ He himself pursued, and he taught others, the practices of the

¹ A. 6/8, fos. 11d., 94, 96d., 135, 140d.

² A. 6/8, fos. 45d., 96d.

³ A. 6/8, fo. 118d.

⁴ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1907, Section II, L. J. Burpee (ed.), "York Factory to the Blackfeet Country. The Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754-55"; *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 89-121, L. J. Burpee (ed.), "An Adventurer from Hudson Bay. Journal of Matthew Cocking, from York Factory to the Blackfeet Country, 1772-73".

⁵ Cf. Appendix C, p. 325.

Company as he had seen them and as he had approved them for over a quarter of a century—the practice of kindness, of peace-making, of penetration by inland voyages to draw the Indians to the Bay rather than by inland settlements or maritime expeditions.

This was indeed a policy which could be described as a “Sleep by the Frozen Sea”, and it is not surprising that when the excitement over Dobbs’ manoeuvres had died down the biographical account published by Joseph Robson,¹ the disgruntled mason who had seen Churchill’s fortifications delayed and mishandled, should have been generally accepted as a true indictment of the Company. So much was the Company out of favour with the general public that when in 1751 Malachy Postlethwayt published his *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* his article on Hudson Bay consisted of little else but extracts from Dobbs’ *Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson’s Bay* and from Robson. He did indeed add, to exculpate himself in quoting Robson, that “if there are any falsehoods and misrepresentations contained therein, only to injure the company, and no way serve the public, let the author answer for them, for the public can only depend on the reports of those who have been in these countries”.² This was in fact the best that Postlethwayt could possibly have accomplished, for the Company was to a large extent its own worst enemy. Middleton’s old complaint that “they will not suffer any of our Journals to be made Public” was still true; Isham’s *Observations* and his *Notes* alike lay in the Company’s offices; no source of information lay open to the public save the works of Dobbs and of dismissed and disgruntled servants of the Company. Those with any knowledge understood that Dobbs’ work showed indefatigable industry but contemptible evidence and that he had relied on men who were “well known to our people for their incapacity and incompetency”,

¹ J. Robson, *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson’s-Bay* (London, 1752).

² M. Postlethwayt, *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce Translated from the French of the Celebrated Monsieur Savary* (London, 1751), I, 959–61.

civ OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

but " Such as it is, 'tis the only publick description of that country ".¹ It was owing to this policy of concealing information, above all to the suppression of Isham's works, that Postlethwayt was forced to rely on works for whose truth he disclaimed responsibility. But, despite his disclaimer, Postlethwayt propagated very effectively the view that the Company's policy was a narrow and ineffective limitation of an easily expandible trade, and the public in general believed this to be true.

But the policy so generally maligned was one in which Isham and the other factors were in agreement with the Committee; and it was successful. Formulated by Governor Knight, stabilised by the London Committee under Sir Bibye Lake during his long period of office, it was vindicated against the explorers by Isham, and by him was passed on to his successors. It was a policy accepted in the Report of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, and proved in the prosperity of the Company, and in the steady growth of goodwill between the traders and the Indians and Eskimos. It was a policy which coincided with and marked a whole epoch in the fur trade, the half century from the Treaty of Utrecht to the Treaty of Paris, from the handing back of York Fort to the handing over of Quebec, Montreal, and the whole of Canada by the French.

During this half century the fundamental conditions of the Company's trade remained unchanged, so the Company's policy rightly remained stable too. As Isham and Middleton realised and stated,² there would be no alteration in the dominating condition until the French were driven from Canada; then policy should change too. But as long as the French held Canada they held all those advantages which later made the Northwesters of Montreal such desperate rivals in the interior, and there should be no major change in policy.

Isham's *Observations* and his *Notes* have their own intrinsic attractions, particularly to the naturalists. But their greatest

¹ Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, p. 3.

² Cf. p. lxxiii.

significance is the way in which, by implication rather than by argument, they show the complete support of Isham for this long-term policy, which appears to have few attractions and which has always been heavily criticised. In this Isham was writing as the doyen of the Company's factors, the most acute and careful observer, the most sympathetic administrator, and the most voluminous writer of the fifty years which he represents. Neither heroic nor brilliant, Isham was also neither rash nor obstinate; he stood very near to his problems, and he spared no pains. His character and his knowledge emerge clearly in his writings; most clearly emerges his thirst for knowledge. As one reads his work, Isham becomes a person, not strongly marked but nevertheless individual; more important is the fact that he remains typical. He epitomises the factors, the men with the greatest knowledge of actual conditions in the Bay, who loyally supported the Company through this long and prosperous period.

The Governor and Committee elected on November 11, 1742, to serve until the following November were :

Sir Bibye Lake, Baronet,	Governor
Benjamin Pitt,	Deputy Governor
William Elderton	
Thomas Knapp	
Atwill Lake [eldest son of Sir Bibye Lake]	
John Anthony Merle	Committee
John Merry [junior]	
Thomas Thorpe	
Captain James Winter	

The Governor and Committee elected on November 17, 1743, for the ensuing year were :

Benjamin Pitt,	Governor
Thomas Knapp,	Deputy Governor
William Elderton	
Thomas Thorpe	
Captain James Winter	
Atwill Lake	Committee
John Anthony Merle	
John Merry [junior]	
Bibye Lake [son of Sir Bibye Lake]	

A SMALL ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN
LANGUAGE IN HUDSONS BAY NORTH
AMERICA CONTAINING

1st

A Vocabulary of English & Indian,

2d

*An Acctt. of goods Traded wth. Discourses
upon Different Subjects,*

3d

*Observations upon Hudsons Bay
wth. Remarks of C.C.M. upon the Effects
of Cold*

4th

*A small Acctt. of the Northwd. Indian
Language, wth. a Discription of that Part of
the Country towards the Copper Mines*

WROTE BY — ATT PRINCE OF WALES'S FORT
CHURCHILL RIVER IN HUDSONS BAY
NORTH AMERICA

M D C C, X X X X I I I

To The Honourable The Governour Deputy
Governour and Committee of the Hudsons Bay
Company London;

Gentlemen,

Being in a Disconsolate part of the world, where their is Little conversation or Divertisment to be had, I was dubious of that too common Malady the Vapour's,¹ which is frequent the forerunner of other Distempers, therefore to prevent such if possible, I have in cold Days and Long winter Nights, amusd. my self with the following Observations, which I am very Sensible the advantage the Small acct. of the following Language, wou'd be to any person Residing in North America,— the following Vocabulary of the Language which is cheifly spoke in these parts, with some small Observations on the Country, is most Humbly presented to your honor's perusal by,

Gentlemen

Your Honor's most Obedient
and Most Humble Servt.

JAMES ISHAM²

¹ Isham was actually ill at this time. c.f. Introduction, p. lxv.

² For a biography, see Appendix C, pp. 318–25.

A VOCABULARY OF ENGLISH & INDIAN

OF THE WORLD¹

God	we su ca cha
Angels	Paw kus ko cun nuc
the Devil	Whit te co
the Damned or to Dam	mur kie

OF THE ELEMENTS

Fire	E'seu ta
the Sea or oeacean	We ne pek
Water	Nippee
the Sky or clouds	Ke shick
the Earth	

THE STARS &c.

A Star or stars	Au cha quck
the Sun	U'besum
the moon or night sun	to bis co besum

¹ The language is apparently a mixture of Cree dialects. J. F. Kenney (ed.), *The Founding of Churchill...* (London, 1932), pp. 50-1, "The Indians of the country around Hudson Bay, from Churchill river to the southward, were Crees and other branches of the Algonquian family; those to the north and north-west were Athapascans-Chipewyans ('Northern Indians'), Yellowknives ('Copper Indians'), Slaves and Dog-ribs. Along the coast to the north were the Eskimos, who regularly came south as far as Churchill, and occasionally even further. Between these three groups continual hostilities existed. In particular, the Crees, equipped with guns from the factories on the Bay, carried on an exterminating war against the Athapascans, of whom one division, the Slaves, have received their name from the large number carried off and held in servitude by the Crees. It was primarily to tap the trade of these Athapascans to the north that a trading post at Churchill was designed [1717], for the Indian bands that came to York Factory seem to have been limited almost entirely to the Crees and their Siouan allies, the Assiniboines, Assinae-poets, or Stone Indians."

A VOCABULARY OF

the Light or break of Day	Wap pun
Darkness or Dark	to bis cow
the Heat	Ki sus ta'u
the Cold or it's Cold	Kis sen
the wind or itt blows	a' tho ten
A Storm or tempest	Nar spitch a 'tho tin
the Cresent or $\frac{1}{2}$ moon	paw qua su
the full Moon	War we ar su
the East	Naw cap pa haun
the West	Ke wa tick
the North	Se pa be su motin
the South	Su ha naw hun
Raine or itt Rains	Ke me wan
Fair Weather	{ Mur the wa tic co ke shick kaw
Hail	Sha se can
Snow	Cu naw
itt Snows	Miss pu'n
frost	me scow a tin
itt's froze	
thaw	Sus cun
Dew	Ke per re bis cow
a fog or mist	Wun ne cus cow win
Thunder	Pe da se wuck
Lightning	Wa war sun moak
a Rain bow	We co pa so can
a Deluge or flood	E'skip po tau

OF THE TIME &C.

the Day	Ke shic kaw
the Sun Rising	Sa cars ta wow
the Sun Setting	Paw kis e mo

the forenoon or morning	Ke ka ship
the afternoon	Ap peth ta ha ke shic kaw
or midle of the Day}	
midnight or Evening	U' taw ko shin
A holiday or festive Day	Mo co she ke shic kaw
A Work Day	Ut tus ke wuc ke shic kaw
Yesterday	U' taw ko shake
the Day before Yesterday	A' wurs taw ko shake
tomorrow	Wap pa ke
Day after tomorrow	A wurs wap pa ke
A week or Seven Days	Ne shu war shic ke shic kaw
A Year or twelve months	Ne shu shop o'be sum
the first or begining	Nish tum
the Midle	Ap peth ta hau
the End	Wer scutch

THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR

January or Little old moon}	Ke sha po wa tick in num
or Cold moon	{ o'be sum
feburary or old moon	Ke sha o'be sum
March or Eagle moon	Me ke shu o'be sum
Aprill or Grey goose moon	Nish ko o'be sum
May or frog moon	A'tha ko o'be sum
June or molting moon	Pus ka haw wow o'be sum
July or flying moon	O'po ho o'be sum
August	pus cut ta sish o'be sum
September or sheding moon	Wurs co ho o'be sum
October or first of the}	Ke sha bo o'be sum
winter moon	
November, or the moon the}	U'pe na wow o'be sum
Deer sheds their horns	
December or Cold moon	pa wa tic in na sish o'be sum

A VOCABULARY OF

THE SEASONS OF THE YEAR

the Spring	Se co nock
the breaking up of the rivers	We de scum ma
the Summer	Ne po nuck
the autumn or fall of the Leaf	to co kuck
the first of the winter	Me kis coak
the Winter	Pe pu'n or Pe pu nuck

OF MANKIND

a Man	Nap pau
a Woman	Es' qua 'u
an old man	Ke sha nap pa'u
an old woman	Ke sha E's qua u
a young man	Wiske nick nap pa'u
a young woman	wis ke neck e's qua 'u
a Bachelor or a Boy	Nap pish
a maid or Girl	E's qua shish
a child or Infant	pe do shish
a father	No taw
a Mother	Naw caw
a Son or	Coosh shish
my Son	Ne coosh shish
a Daughter	U' taw nish
my Daughter	Ne taw nish
Brother or sister	Ne shim
Eldest Brother	Nesh tass
Midle Brother	Us tace
Midle Sister	U' shim
Youngest Sister	U' shim me now
A Husband	{Ou' warth —wi che ho gan or Wi che wa gan

a Concert or Companion	En' que mace
a Cannoe mate	Che maw gan
a Bed fellow	Wip pe maw gan
to Lye with one	Caw wip pe mow
a Widow	Se cow'u
Nephew or neice	Noshe shim
Uncle	Moo shu'm
Chellows of a Rival	Caw qua tha tum
Aunt	No cum
Son in Law	Ne haw ka shim
Daughter in Law	Ne hog a' nes squaw
father in Law	No ko miss
Mother in Law	Ne sick cuss
Brother in Law	Nish tow
Sister in Law	Ne tum
A freind	Co shake
twins	Ne shu 'e tem a'qua'u

THE PARTS OF HUMAN BODY

the Body	War tie
the head	Es te quan
the fore part of the head	Mis car tie
the hinder part Do.	Mir the qui o'wan
the Crown of the head	Won na pan
the Cheeks	Mun no wi arth
the Nose	U'ske wan
the Lips	U'tun'n
the Chin	Me qua qua na 'u
the Eyes	Us ske shick
the Eye Lids	Me sha pe we nan
the Eye Brow	Maw maw wuck

A VOCABULARY OF

the hair of the head	Es te quan upe wi
the teeth	we pitt <i>or</i> ne pitt
the tongue	U' te thin ue
the Ears	tow wa kie
the Neck	Ne qui o
the arm	Me ta to min
the Elbow	En tes quan
the Rist	U' spe tien
the hand	Che che
the fingers	Koth to gan
the throat	
the Jaw	U'spis quan
the Back	Naw hu can
the back bone	En te the
the Shoulder	Mit to can
the hip	U'po'em
the thigh	Ne che quan
the Knee	En tus sis ka tun
the Calf of the Leg	U's cott
the Leg	Ne pis co ca nan
the ancle	Na quan
the Heel	u'sitt
the foot	Ke cha qua ra that tis sa win
the sole of the foot	E' thur se tuc
the toes	U'tuc kie
the pinis	U'tish c'ur
the Cods	Aur kie
the Sanctum Sanctorum	Nursh cur shu
the Nails	U so gan
the Rump bone or rump	Nis pisagon <i>or</i> U'spuck kie
the Ribs or sides	Wus suc kie
the Skin	

INWARDS & OTHER PARTS OF THE BODY

a Bone	Us can
flesh	Me chim (alias) We arsh
fatt	pim me
Blood	Mirth co
a Vein or blood Vessel	Mirth co ap pee
a Sinew	Ar stis se
the Stomach	Mars te quan
Milk from the brest	to tus a ap po
a Nerve	Me tus tu tar tie
the heart	U' tau'
the Cutts	tuc a'shue
the Liver	Us' kun
the Lights	Us' spun
the Blader	Wirth qui
the Maw	co tus que

EXCREMENTS OF THE BODY

the Hair in Generall	Pi wi
the Beard	Mar tes te quan
the Urine	Sick 'o'win
the Spitle or to Spit	Se quar tau'
the Dung or	May'e

CERTAIN ACCIDENTS & PROPERTIES OF THE BODY

Laughter or to Laugh	Paw pee
cry or weeping	Maw to
the Breath	Pe ka wa tow tow 'u
to Groan	coc ke to way se qua qua mitt
Sneezing	se niska ko mitt
A Belch or heecough	En pa ka tau
Choakd or to be choakd	Ko ka ta hoan

A VOCABULARY OF

Drowseness	En we ne pan
Sleep	Ne pow
a Dream	{ Nepow wa win or En te tap par tin
Beauty or handsome	Me the wa naw ga sin
Ugly or ugliness	Mar rat tis sue
Leanness	Sa sac ke sue
tall Shap'd	Ke na cop pa win
Long	Ke na wors quack
Short Sett	Cha ko 'ko pa we sue
Short	Che marsh ko shin

THE NATURAL SENSES &c.

the Sight or to See	wap mow
the hearing or to hear	path tum
Smell or to Smell	{ me thar tum or me thar chi can
feeling	
Sweet	Su cow
a Stench	wi chi ig gan
to pinch	chis ta nick
Sower	Su wap po

BLEMISHES OF THE BODY

A Wart	Che che com
A Wen	Wor she top pis ko ta win
A Scratch	Che che nick

OF DISEASES

fainting	En tis quan
Madness	Na ha ra wa sun

a cough or cold	Now stus te tain
Short wind	En kis ka tar tin
Griping	Ke sha wus ke tan
gidiness	tis quan
Swelling	paw kis tan
Matter of a Wound	mer tha u
A Scar	No tich a sin
to cutt	Kis ka sow
a Blow or to Strike	{ po com ma hu or po com ma hu tin
to Kick or tread upon	En ta ko's scott
a miscarriadge	par scas skit a now a sue
Life	A' thir thue
Death or dead	Nepue or che pye
With Child	U' po way
Born or Brought to bed	Na tow a Kee

OF THE SOUL &c.

forgetfullness	wun na Kis kis sen
foolish	Mur tha po cow
a Lye or fib	Ke tas kin
Love	Sack'e how
to Hate	En per quar tin
fear	gus tan or gus tach
Dispair or greif	Pe tis scot tum
to wish	Ca naw kaw
Boldness	Ethin ne ma e ar che tue
to Sweet	ta po a'sin
to be hott	En kish e'poe oue
Anger	Ke she warsh u'
Pity or mercy	Ke ta ma ka sue

A VOCABULARY OF

OF CLOATHS & THINGS CARRIED ABT. ONE &C	
a Garment	tacope
a tockey	Muska togy
a Beaver coate	Me che wi an
a Sleeve	No qui
a shirt or Lining	puc a'wi an nish
Buttons	Ches ta pe sun
a pocket	pe ta sa win
a String	per shag a nap pe
a Belt	per qur ta hoon
a carter	Ke ska pe sun
a Handkerchief	to pis caw can
a cap or hatt	ars tu tin
Socks	ar se cun nuck
Stockings	U'tass
a Wigg	to paw kis ko can
a Glov	ar stis uck
a purse or bag	Me witt
a Raisor	Kur se to wa mat to win
Ear Rings	to pis ta pe sun
a Cloth for the private parts	Ar se an
a Leather moose skin	paw ka higan
a hairy Deer skin	mis ta tic wi
a Drest Deer skin	At tic wi
a Skin of any sort or hide	wi an
Hand Cuffs	Ar tun nuck
A String the women wears, about their waste, wch. they tie their Stockings to	Man no ta pee
Strings to a Beaver coate } or Loose Garment }	a nis ko mon

a String to a Cap	Ar stu tin ia'p po
to tie up the hair or }	sick a pa tun
Dress fine	{ or We wush e 'hoan
A Cradle or back board	fiel ta naw gan

OF EATING

Breed	ha ra ca naw
Oatmeal	A'tho me nuck
Flower	{ Husk ha ra ca now or per qua she can
to Boile	poc kar she maw
to Roast	Suc a po e'ow
to Broil	Mus ke ta po
to fry	
mince meat	Ke show a'nappo
to Stew	cus kis a'wuck
Salt meat	Su a to gan wearsh
Lean meat	pu kis ka wow
fatt meat	wisko pau
a pudding	ar sum min per qua she can
a pye or tart	We was ca pone
Deers flesh	Attick wearsh
Broth or the Liquor of meat	{ swap pe cum mi na ca or mu scum ma
Water cruel	A'tho me nap po
Butter	mus stus stus o'pim me
Cheese	Chee's
Eggs	war wee
Sallet or Herbs	Mus ko she can
Oyl	Me stick o'pim me
Mustard seed or childs Dung	A'war shisk may 'e
Capers or sheeps Dung	mar te tik o'may'e

anchoves or small fish	Ramars a sish
Sugar	Su cow
Spice or sweet wood	su wow me stick
to Dring	mi na qua
Salt	Su a to gan
Spruce Beer	Sheth taw po
Small Beer	a'ko ma ke che cum
Strong Beer	Mo taw ga'nap pou
Glasses	me na qua ka nish
A Drinking mugg	me na qua quan
A Bowl or platter	U'tha gon
A Bunch bowl	Su ka wap po u thogan

*OF ARTS SCIENCES & PROFESSIONS WTH. UTENTIALS
&c.*

a Armourer	Me shick
a Taylor	Sha pu ni can
a carpenter	Me stick a nap pu
a Smith	Whisker John
a Bricklayer	{Wap pa tun nish we mis ta cuss
a Labourr. or Servt.	coo pun na she wuck
a Slave	U'wa can
a Surgeon	En to ko thi
a writtin Englishman	{Me si ne hig gan we mus ta cuss
a Cook or to Cook	pe ma nou a Sue
a Steward	A'tus ko ro gan
A Captain or Cheif	U'ke maw
a file	Ke napu che can
a Saw	Kis ka pu che can
an Ax or Hatchet	Che ka hi gan

a Plaine Chissel or crooked Knife	}	mo ko to gan
a Ram rod		Ar 'tick
a State or Kingdom		U'tars ke
an Indian		A'thin new
English men		we mus ta ku shu
a french man		pe squa we mis ta cuss

OF A HOUSE IN GENERAL & FURNITURE &c.

a house		was ka higgan
a Stone house		ar si ne u'cu mick
a Clock or watch		ap peth ta be sum
a Grave		tha cow
a Bell		tu tu ap pis sky pu chu can
the ground floor or below		tup pa shish
Rubbish		pe wish a can
above or a Loft		U'spim mick
apartment or Lodging		Ne ke nauk
the Stairs		Ke cha ko shin
a Door or gate		Quar stem muck
a Lock		war se pa pish
a Key		Ap peth ta Kit a hi gan
a Window		pe spop a win
an oven		Ha ra ca naw u'ko mick
a Lime Kilne		Cuse 'can
Lime or chalk		Wap pa tu nish
a Building or Dwelling of any Sort	}	U'comick
a Stone		ar si nee
a Brick		mir the qua pis co
a pair of tongs		pe wap pis e'scutta
Land		tars kee

a Chair	ta tup pa win
a table	Ars pe pe wun a rit tick
a fork	ches tas ta pe win
a Spoon	Emequan
a warsh Bason	Stop pa win a tho gin
a warsh cloth or towel	Stop pa win puc a wi a'nish
a Small square Botle	{ pe wap pis co tho gin nish or Sua tho go nish
a Large Botle	Pe wap pis co tho gin
a Cork or Stopper	Ki pa hi gan
a Candle	war sta ne maw gan
a candle Stick	war sta ne maw gan pewap piss
Snuffers	Kis ka sow a na
a Goose Stand	Ar su ig gan
a cag or cask	me stick a' witt
a trunk box or chest	me wis
a bag	Me witt
a Bed	Ne pa win
a Pillow	per squa she moon
a Blankett	wap pa wi an
a Chamber pott	Sick u' a tho gin
Curtains	Aw ko has chu sa win
a close stool	may'e me stick a wutt
a chimney piece fire, place } or Stove }	co tow a nap pisk
a Racket	A' quis quo pan
Bellows or blow the fire	pu ta'ta' ar scut te wan
A Shovel	par tus nu can
a Screen, or sail to Keep } of the wind }	us pi ma pa qua
a tent	ap per quar sin
to make a tent	Man ka 'u

flames	Wars tau
Smoak	purs a'ta 'u
the fire burns	Quar qua ta'u
to Light the fire	Cul taw wan
to make a fire	pu naw
a Match	Sur scitch ig gan
a broom or to Sweep	Wi pa ko nash e wan
Quils	Me quan
a Ruler or a measure Dry	tip a'hi gan
a Measure Liquod	Quop a hi gan
a Spying Glass	U'tho bo che can
a Gunn Case	Spik a naw gan
a Nitting Needle	U 'mauk
to nitt a Snow shoe	us ke may ta sam
a Snow shoe	ta sam
a bag to put fire works in	Skip pa to gan
a Speaking trumpet	to po che can
a horn handle clasp Knife	to qua che ka mo go mon
to pitch or go from the fort &c.	En ko po me pe chu
to put Inds. over a River in a boate	Ke harshe wow a thinu
to fetch them over	Na ta how wa wuck
to padle in a Vessel	pu see
to Sail or go in a Vessel	pe mis kian
a padle or oar	ap poee
a Sweating house	Mu tu ta san a ke

OF BEASTS & THINGS RELATING TO BEAST

Sheep or ugly Deer	Mar te tick
a Boar or sow	Coo coosh
a cow or horse	Mus stuce

a Wolf	Me hi gan
a she wolf	No sha me hi gan
a he wolf	Nap pau me hi gan
a white Bear	Wap pushk
a Black Bear	Mus qua
a fox	Me ke shue
a white fox	wap pa ke shue
a Black or grey fox	Cur ska tau me ke shue
a Reddish fox	U' Saw wa me Ke shue
a hair or Rabbit	Wap puss
a Deer	at tick
a moose or Elk	Moo sue
A Buflow	Murs tuce
a Squr'l	Ar thick a tash
A Beaver	Au misk
a she Beaver	Ke no sha a misk
a he Beaver	Nap pau a misk
a Whole or old Beavr.	Ke sha a misk
a three quarter Beavr.	pa wa shish
a half Beaver	A wa ko shish
a Beaver house	Wirsta or amisk wurs ta
their Vaults	Whoat or wot tee
Beaver Stones or castorum	We she now
the gendering stones	U tish e'wi
the oyly bladders or stones	Wir tu ap po wuck
A Muskeratt	U'e hus quck
A porque, pine	Caw qua
a Wolvereen or Quiquahatch	{Qui qua ha ku or Mur tha stuce
a Sculk	She cow wuck
a martin	Wap pa stan
an Otter	Ne Kick

a wild Catt	pir shuee
a tame Catt	Caw sha Kish
a Dog	At tim
to carry or ride a horse &c.	Caw i o mitt
to carry a Bundle	We wa sue
a Bundle of Beaver	Aur ti witt
Small furs	piska shish a wi an
a wejack	Shar qua she wuck
a Jack ash	Au cha Karsh
a mouse	Ap pa ko shish
a Ermin	She ke shu
a Wenusk	
the horn of a beast	Es cu nuck
the tail of a beast	U sue
a trap	Wun a higan
a Log or wood trap	Mistick a wun a higan
a Steel trap	pewap pisk wun a hi gan
a Setting gun	parska si gan wun a higan
Catcht in a trap	tar sue
a Baite of a trap	me chim ta ko chi can
to Skin	paw quin
to Scrape any skin	Matta ha <i>or</i> matta hi gan
a track	Mes skin
a flying Squ'r'l	to swa win a thick o tash

OF INSECTS

a Spider	A' ta pa qua
a frogg	A' tha'ke
a Louce	E'qua
Lousy	En no tick a ma tau
a fly or maggot	O'chu
a Butter fly	ke ko ko mu no ka shish

A VOCABULARY OF

a Musketer	Suc ke maw
a Musketer hawk Like a }	Su a'ca nap pa sish
Horse fly	
a Snake	Ke na pitt
a Bee	Au mo
Sand fly's	De quush

OF FISHES

a fish	Ra mars
a White Wale	Wap po meg
a Seal or sea mawse	ath keek
a perch	U'cow
a trout	moc a ma kush
a Sturgeon	Ne ma u
a Stock fish	Mar te meg
a mussel	We naw pa qua shue
a Sort of tench	tick o megg
Succours	Ne ma pett
a Jack fish	Ke no shue
merthy or Eal	Mur thy
Spratts or small fish	Ra mars sish
the tail	o'll's qun ni
the Gills	We pe tu e tickomeg
the fins	U'che che cu na
the Scails	wa kaw ke uc
the Spawn	Wa quc
fishing wth. a hook	we per squa pu chi can
a Net	A'thu p pee
Sammon	Ne ma cu sheeck
a Bait	Cut ta ko tum

OF BIRDS

A Bird or fowl	Pe da 'u
Little Birds	pe da shish
a Hern	Sus suc cow
an Eagle	Me ke su
a Kite	
a Hawk or winter hawk	Pe pun sue
a Crow or Raven	Caw caw qua
a Cock or hen	Mish e 'thau
a Grey goose	Neish cock
a White goose	wap pa wa we wuck
a Pidgeon or Dove	Me me wuck
a Rock partridge	Ap pis top pe thau
a Cobed wuch or Bustard	Che po me shish
a Sea Gull	Uko so ke arsh
a Winter Duck	me she ship
a White Gull	wap pa ke as h'k
a Sea fowl the Name I do not know	{me she qua tow wa quish que she ba tum
a white Whisker jack or a Jay Like	{wap pis ka John or wap pa whisker John
a Grey crain	Usa wa u'te chauk
a White owl	wap pa ho or wap pa cullu
a Blew weywe	Kurs ka ta wa we wuck
a Kind of Hawk	thro ro sa ca see
a Duck kind	Ur ther kus qua na pe shish
a Stone plover	Mis ta kus qua na pe shish
a Land bird no name	Chaw chaw ko low
a	Ou' the ca nau
a plover	{pus ku chush'u or pur ske chu nuck
a Snow Bird	Wap pa tha ko shish

A VOCABULARY OF

a Bittern	pas ke ka we na sun nuck
a	Us cu ne thou
a White partridge	Wap pa tha'u
a Wood partridge	me stick a'pe thou
or Indian partridge	Ethi nue pe thou
a pheasant	Yaw kis co
a Duck	she ship
a Sea swallow or Dirty Headed Gull }	{ Wir the pis quo esti quan Ke ashk
a Nother sort of swallow	ap pish e'ke ash'k
an Ugly Duck	Mar te ti mu sish
a Curlow	Woc ko ko ta sue
a Lun'n	ash e'moquo
a Indian Duck	E'thi thu ship
a hawks Eye	Wir the pee ma tu sish
a Jack Daw	Caw caw qua ship
a Swan	wap pa sue
a Mag pye	ap pish a'caw caw sish
a Duck kind	me me nick
a Small winter bird	ap pis h e'kis ke sish
a	Utt tu che ka ke wuck
a Duck kind	su ke ta cowe' ship
an old wife or sea bird	Haw haw haw wa wuck
a man of warr	U'cha ke ash'k
a Duck kind	pus quo pu sha we ship
a mackerall bird	Eko sha ke ash'k
a Lark	U' che chu a shu
a Bull finsh	
a Hedge sparrow	
A pilacan	Sha su que
a wood peker	
a Red Bird	

a marsh bird	
a Black, Bird	
a Brant Goose	Wir the wap pa wa wuck
the pinion or wing of a fow'l	U'ta caw quan
feathers	pe wi
Down	Mis se na pe wi
the Rump	Uso gan
the Bill	U'cutt
a claw	wur scutt che
the Gizzard	U tish e'e
the Leg	U poem
to rise or fly	Op po ho
the back	U spisquan

OF TREES, BERRIES, & HERBS &c.

a tree	A chi me na'u
wood or Dry wood	Meth ta 'u
a Stick	Me stick
a wood or Homach	Caw pis cu me co kock
Grass or Hay	Mus co shee
a Spade	Qua pa his ko wan
touch wood	po so gan
Pease	Ha ra che me nuck
Beans	Mis ta ha ra che me nuck
Rice	Wap'pa tho me nuck
a Grape Raisin or Berrie	Me nish
the root of a tree	U'cha pe caw
Leeves	
a turnip	U'ta she gan
a Reddish	U'scot ta scan uc
Collowarts or Lettice	Mus co she min
Goose Berries	Shap po me nuck

Cran berries	we sa ke ma nuck
a Currant	A tha kim mi nuck
a Huckle Berrie	Mis ke ma na
a maws berrie	as ke ma nah
a Yellow berrie or rasberrie	Bo ro ca to me nuck
a Wood Straw berrie	U ske she co me nuc
Juniper	Wa ka naw can
Juniper berries	wur sus qua tu uc
a Willow	Ne pa sue
Red willow	Mis qua pa ma quck
Dye Root	Uta saw we nan
Ash	Us cu cutt
Berch wood	Wur sqi ar tick
Berch rine	wur sqi
a prunn	perca sa ne ma nuck
a pine aple	wus sus qua tu
Weed to Smoak	Jack ash a puck
An chillico	

OF A MINE, &c.

Gold	U'saw wa su the an
Silver	Su the an
Iron	pe wappisk
Lead or stone	Ar si nue
a Rock	Keis ko pis cow
a Grind stone	Ke ne pu chi can
Glew, pitch, or tarr	pe que
a marsh	Nur scua cow
a Lake	so ka hi gan
plains	Kur s sku
a hill or the Hills	mar te wattche
a River or brook	Se bee

a Boate	Oat ta shish
a Cannoe	ot tot
a Ship or Vessel	che man
a Cart or Sled	to pa nash

OF NUMBERS &c.

one	pi uc
two	Ne shue
three	Neish to
four	Na vo
five	Ne a'nun
Six	Cut te wash ick
Seven	Ne shu wash ick
Eight	Cooshe wash ick
Nine	Shaw'k
ten	Me tar tut <i>or</i> qua
Eleven	pi uc co shop
twelve	Ne shu shop
thirteen	Neish to shop
fourteen	Navo shop
fifteen	Ne a nun u shop
Sixteen	Cut ta wash ick shop
Seventeen	Ne shu wash ick shop
Eighteen	Ne a nun u' tar to shop
Nineteen	Shawk tar to shop
twenty	Ne shu tin naw
twenty one	Ne shu tin naw pi uc co shop
twenty two	Ne shu tin naw ne shu shop
twenty three	Ne shu tin naw neish to shop
twenty four	Ne shu tin naw navo shop
twenty five	{ Ne shu tin naw ne a'nun u'shop

A VOCABULARY OF

twenty Six	{ Ne shu tin naw Cut ta washick shop
twenty Seven	{ Ne shu ten naw ne shu washick shop
twenty Eight	{ Ne shu ten naw coo she washick shop
twenty Nine	{ Shawk tar to shop Ne shu ten naw
Thirty or 3 tens	Neish to me ten naw
Thirty one, & so on to thirty }	{ Neish to me ten naw pi uc
Nine as afore mention'd	{ co shop
fourty or four tens	Na vo me ten naw
fifty or five tens	Ne o nun u'me ten naw
Sixty or six tens	cot ta wash ick me ten naw
Seventy or seven tens	Ne shu wash ick me ten naw
Eighty or Eight tens	coo she wash ick me ten naw
Ninity or nine tens	shawk tar to me ten naw
a Hundred or ten tens	Me tar tut me ten naw
a Hundred & fifty	{ Me tar tut me ten naw ne a'nun 'u me ten naw
two Hundred	Ne shu me tar tut me ten naw
ten Hundred or a thousand	{ Me tar tut me tar tut me ten naw

OF COLOURS

White	wap puc
Black, grey, or blew	Kur ske ta'u
Red	Mis quock
Yellow	U'sawr wa

DIVERSIONS PLAY OR GAMING

cards	Dia maw nick
the King	Wa wa ke to

the Queen	Es'qua muck
the Knave	Com ma com ma kot
the ace or one	pi uc me sin na hig gan
Hearts	Hartce
Diamond	Diamon
Spades	pades
Clubs	Cud u'bs
a Great walker	Ne tar po mo tau'

OF EXERCISE

Dancing	Nim me
Walking	Per mo tau'
Leeping	Quos qua tin
Running	pim me par tow
Riding	I'omitt
Singing	coo me
Speaking	I'um mu
Standing	Ne pa win
Lying	pima sin
Swiming	tho tha tum
Diving	Ko Ka

*ADJECTIVES EXPRESSING SEVERAL
QUALITIES &c. &c.*

Good	{ Me tho sha shitt or Murther washing
Bad	Mar rat ten
Little or Small	{ ap pe sha shing or aman shish
Big	me shig a taw
much or a Great Deal	Mis ta hau
tall	Ke na cop pa win

short	Che marsh ko shin
Right hand	Me ka ta nuck
Left hand	En aw maw tin
New	Wus ka
old	Ki ash
Now	a'noach
itt's fatt	we thin now
Long	Ke na wurs quock
a Sword	po co mo gan
a Bow	U'cham pee
an arrow	au'kusk
Drunkenness	Che squil bu
a theif or to Steel	Ke mu ta <i>or</i> Ke mu ta'u
to take a way by force	mur skum mitt
a Captn. of a Vessell	Chemon U'kemaw
a trum	pa pa hes te quan
make a fire	pu naw
Blow the fire	pu tar ta es 'cut tau
put the fire out	Ars ta wa'u es'cut tau
a full Belly	Kis pun'n
Empty or nothing	ne mat ta cun
hard or Strong	{ Me scow a' tin me scow a sue } more propr.
tirty or nasty	Wir the bis ca
wett	Ne pee wan
to Dry	par sue
Dirty face	Whit te chap
Handsome	Mur tha wa naw ka sue
Deaf	Ker ka par taw
foolish	{ Mur tha bu cat or mur tha bu cow }
to go to warr	Nut ta per rue

Coward or afraid	cush tash
proud	Mar taw ko sin
to Quarrel or fight	Mash e'ha ke'
all	Maw mo <i>or</i> ko ka thow
all of this sort	mu shick uma
this	uma
that	ne ma
Yonder	Ne ta
Here	o'ta
None	{ Ne mo cha or ne matta cun
half	ap peth ta ha 'w <i>or</i> paw ku
few	ne ma maw sue
a nother	Ko tuc
More	me na
hungary	En we mit su'n
Starvd.	pe skop pa quan
to Dress	We wurshu
to put on ones cloaths	purs ta o 'nish
to comb ones head	En ka sick a hu
to paint or grease	en co to me quan
warsh yr. hands	Stop pa win Ke che che
put on yr. Hatt	purs ta stu tin
to Do or make	wush a'tau
to ask a question	{ Qua che maw or teba che mo
a great talker	Ar the ma ta go sin
to hold ones tongue	Cock 'e to
to Know or are Sensible	{ En kis ska tha tin or Kis kis sen
to forgett	Wun na kis kis sen
to take great care	cun na wa the maw suc ke

take time	pia'tic <i>or</i> pa cosh
to pull strong or hard	sucke uchip pa tau
to wish or hope	Con ne caw
to Love	sac ka tin <i>or</i> sac ke how
to Leave one	Nuc ke tau
to haul short in measure	{no ta perry <i>or</i> no ta ske naw
to Kiss	U' chem
to take up	u'pin
to Kill	Nip pa haw
I have Killd.	sha shi nip pa haw
physick a Dose	maye appo
to change	mescutch
to owe or Debt	me sin na higge
to give	meth <i>or</i> me tha tin
to take	U'tin
take itt	Io'u
Comming this way	pe ta es tum ma tau
first or foremost	Ne kaw per mo tau
Come here	Es tum
to go	Que way
to go out	wir the wa
go away	A' wurs'
to go with me	wich a wow nedar
to fall	Paw ka sin
to go Down	Neish tar ta wa
to Come in	Peth ta ku
itt's Strange	Hur ra wock ke ku
Why do you do so	Don na wa che tu te muck
to be quiet or Let itt Lone	Kaw tu taw
to Haste or put foreward	Ke na pa <i>or</i> Keish kor tin
to hawl any thing on a sled	En co top pa'u

a heavy Sled	U'po way top pau
a heavy Bundle	U'po witt
Heavy	coo se quan
to shatt a Door &c.	Kip pa haw <i>or</i> se kus ka naw
to Open	par ske ten na <i>or</i> Op po haw
to fill or put in	Sicka naw
itt's full	Sock ka skena
their is something in itt	Su'e tau uma
to Spill	Ko sick a naw
to cry	maw to
to Draw or pull	U'chip pa ta
to show or See	Cut ta wap pa mow
to tie	to ka pa tum
to untie or open anything	Op pa scun
itt's broke	pursko perry
to tear or	peko po tum
to Cutt	Kis kis <i>or</i> kiske saw
to hold	to ka na <i>or</i> micha mina
to hide Sly	Ke mouch
to find	mis ka wow
to sow or mend	Kurs ta quar sue
pott hooks	Cus ka pone
a Necessary house	Me su u'cum mic
porquepine Quils	Caw we uc
maws that grows upon the rocks	Wa quo nuck
maw's	askue
Rock or sea weed	shas kap pa na
to break wind backwards	puc ke to
to blow the Nose	She na sha co ma
fleam	No tuc ka co min
a Hatchet helve	Ar tick
Snow shoes	ta sam

A VOCABULARY OF

Juniper snow shoes	Wa ka naw gan ta sam
Berch snow shoes	Wir squi ta sam
a Ryne bag	We qua mitt
he tells you to make a fire	puna Ke tic a' win
I tell you	Ke lit tin
to marke or Disfigure	Ar sar so win
a pipe	U' spo gan
a pipe Stem	wus ka che
to See fair of	Noquan
I will not	Ne ma we der
to fill a Pipe	Row wes ske na w'spo gan
Let itt be so	Ec co she
To take the water	paw ko peg
Cloudy weather	ne quis quan
to make a smoak or their is }	purs a'tau'
a smoak	

*DIFFERENT WAYS TO COUNT TEN IN THE
INDIAN LANGUAGE*

Common Indn. Language }	one	Pi uc
	two	Ne shue
	three	Nish to
	four	Na vo
	five	Ne a nun
	Six	cut ta wash ick
	Seven	Ne shu wash ick
	Eight	Cooshe wash ick
	nine	Shaw'k
	ten	Me tar tut or Qua

one	Coosh
two	Neish
three	swa
four	Na 'u
Common Indn. Language }	five Ne a'nun
	six Cutte wash
	Seven ne shu wash
	Eight coo she wash
	Nine shaw'k
	ten Qua

one	sheth
two	na tue
three	naw hue
four	neish 'u
Earchithinu ¹ Language }	five neish to
	Six naw hew
	Seven ke che kaw
	Eight nan ish
	nine pe ko sha
	ten Ke pue

¹ See p. 113, and Appendix B, p. 312.

A VOCABULARY OF

Earchethinue Language in a nother part of the Country	one	U'ma tau
	two	Nu paw
	three	nu'm
	four	su pa
	five	chau'k
	Six	au ker
	Seven	sar po
	Eight	nu paw pe
	nine	U 'ma ta pe
	ten	Pi uck
Southwd. Indn. Language	one	War ske
	two	Dick a nee
	three	Ar skee
	four	Ki ir the
	five	Wiske
	Six	Ei ue'
	Seven	Chaw tuc
	Eight	Chaw teco
	nine	to to 'u
	ten	Ki ther the
Stone ¹ Indian or sine poet Language	one	Shun gaw son
	two	shun gaw na ga tan
	three	siddea' husk
	four	hooe caw
	five	shun gaw
	Six	shaw co pea'u
	seven	shaw go
	Eight	shaw gun no gaw
	nine	Non pe che oo'k
	ten	Wick ke chem

¹ See Appendix B, p. 310.

one	El cloye
two	naw gee
three	toye
four	Dingee
Northward ¹	five

Indn. Language } / }

Six	El coo toye
Seven	Eha coo'd toye
Eight	Ell Kut tee
nine	Ell cloye you toye
ten	Coo nel naw

¹ See p. 177, and Appendix B, p. 311.

ENGLISH AND INDIAN
OF PERTICULAR SORTS OF GOODS

Beads in Generall	me ke shuck
Large Long white Beads	nar to me nuck
Large round white Beads	{ mock a'me nish uck wap pi= =me nuck
midling round white Beads	{ mock kum me nish uck wap= =pi mi nuck
Small Long white Beads	Nar to me nish
Small round white Beads	{ Ap pe she me nish uck wap pi me nuck
Small round Blew Beads	{ Ap pe she me nish uck Kur ske ta me nuck
Large round Blew Beads	{ Mock kim me nuck Kur ske ta me nuck
Midling round Blew beads	{ Mock kim me nish uck Kur ske ta me nuck
Small round red Beads	{ Mis ko me nuck ap pish e'= =me nish uck
Long Red Beads	{ Nar to me nuck mis ko me nuck
A Kittle	ar skee'k
a one Beaver Kettle &c.	piuc aur tie ar skeek
Powder	Kur ske tau or pe co
Shott	Ar si nee
Duck Shott or Wawee shott (Wawee signifies white geese)	Wa wo ar si nee
Bristow Shott or Grey goose shott	Nish ko ar si nee

OF PERTICULAR SORTS OF GOODS 39

partridge shott or bird shott	Pe dau ar si nee
Shott goose mould or Beaver shott	{ A'misk o'arsinee or a misk o'sinee
Low Et. India shott or moase shott	{ moo su ar sinee or moo su si nee
Braz'll. tobacco or black tobacco	Kur ska tau che stem mo
Leaf tobacco	Sha puc quo
Roll tobacco	{ wap pa stem mo or me sin a'win a igan
tobacco in Generall	che stem mo
thread	Sheth ta Kush
paint or Vermillion	A'tho min
feathers	me quan
fish Hooks	pe squa pu che can
Steels	ap peth
Brandy	Scut ta wop pou
Red waters	Mis qua ka mick
White waters	Wap pa ka mick
Bays or Duffle	pish a'wi an
Blanketts	Wap pa wi an
cloth	man tu ig gan
White Cloth	Wap pa ig gan
Red Cloth	Mis qua ig gan
Blew Cloth	Kur ska ta ig gan
Corded Cloth	{ pa sha ig gan or Caw pa she cook
End of cloth	Es'qua' ig gan
Duffle	Pish u ig gan
flannel	shu wap pa wi a' nish
Gartering or Binding &c.	nim ma hig gan
Awles	U'scot chick

Collars brass or necklesses	topis kaw can pewap pisk
Buttons	Ches ta ta pe su
Burning glasses	be sum ap peth
Bayonetts	taw kaw chi can
Combs	Sic ka hoon
Egg or Barrell Box	kur ske ta ki ni can
Needles	Sha pu ni can
files	Ke na pu chi can
flints	Chaw ka she ig gan
a Gunn	par ska sig gan
a Short gunn	{caw cha mas ko sitt par ska sig gan
a Long Gunn	{Caw ke na wors quock par ska sig gan
a Pistol	par ska sig ga nish
a Worm	Kit ta ig gan
a handkercheif	{topis kaw can puc ki wi a'nish
a hatt or cap	ar stu tin
a hatchett	chi ka hig gan
a small Hatchett	Chi ka hig ga nish
Hawk's Bells	Su'a thog i nuck
a Narrow Ice chissell	me wiss
a Broad Ice chissel	{Ke ne kaw arsisue' or arsisue
a Knife	mo co mon
a Box Knife	me stick o'mon
a Large Long Knife	Ethin 'o ko mon
a Roach Knife	war ske tick o' mon
a Jack Knife	pe skuk o'mon
a Large Looking glass	Co me shau'k wap pa hoon
a small Looking glass	wap pa hoo nish

OF PERTICULAR SORTS OF GOODS 41

tobacco tongs	taw ka cha ap peth
a trunk	{me wis or mis tick a' wutt
twine	sheth ta cush
a nett	A' thup pu
nett Lines or } a walking Line}	{mo tog a'nap pee or per mo tau tog a nap pee
a powder horn	pe che pe quan
Rings plaine	At tu'n nish
Seal & stone	wa wa ca nuck
Scraper's	man tu'as
Scissars	{mu su tu in or per squa mot ta hun
Spoons	E'me quan
a Linning Shirt	{Puc ca wi anish mus ko to ka
Shoes	mus skis sen
Stockings	u'tass or me tass
A Belt or Sarsh	Per qur ta hoan
Thimbles	Ar sa hugican
Tobacco Boxes	Ar ske ko kin a kun

ENGLISH & INDIAN

OF SOME PERTICULAR SORTS OF GOODS IN THE STONE INDIAN LANGUAGE &c. VIZ.

Beads	Ow 'ee
Kettles	chau'k
powder	{cha cun dee {or Cha cun de mon go
Shott Grey goose	maw can chude
Ball	taw hin chude
shott Duck	
Shott partrige	
Shott goose mould	
tobacco braz'll	Chun dee
Roll tobacco	Chun diss
Leaf tobacco	chun de peck
paint	Wass sis
feather's	woot che
fish hook's	
fire steels	Chaw caw
Brandy	pea tom min
water's Red	me nish shaw
waters white	min ne waw caw
Bays	
Blanketts	She nush
Cloth white	
do. Red	snush
Blew	she nut
corded	she nat
Gartering	

ENGLISH & STONE INDIAN LANGUAGE 43

Awles	aw isp
collars brass	
Buttons	she nuck
Burning glasses	
Bayonett's	Won ne cheb
Combs	Ea paw kick
Egg Boxes	
Needles	chick chick cot
files	I'hume
flints	Chaw ke mo tuck
Guns	Ee tea paw
Gunn worm's	in chaw she nuc'k
Handkercheifs	she naw ke ma gon
a Hatt	Wap paw
a Hatchet	mus susp'e
Hawk's Bells	Snash snash
Ice chissel broad	tea chue
do. narrow	pit taw hay
Knife box handle	Oak ke sep
Roach Knife	
a Jack Knife	tach she tauk a mein
a Knife	mein
a Looking glass	Oo'wee keen auk
tobacco tongs	
Trunks	
Twine	
Nett Lines	Wat te e snue
powder horn	
Runlett or cag	chaw wuck
Rings	Nap su con nuck
Scrapers	{waw hin't or taw hin ti co}

Sword Blades	wo o cusk
Scissar's	in ches sen naw
Spoons	Ous caw
Stockings	skin nuss
Shirts	Oo pe oak
a sarsh	hum'p
a Shoe	
Thimbles	
Tobacco Boxes	U po bob

*A SHORT ACC'T. OF THE SAID STONE INDIAN
LANGUAGE, (ALIAS) ESINNEPOET, (ALIAS)
POSHEMO, CONTINUED VIZTT.*

the Head	Paw
the Eyes	Eish taw
the nose	Poe
the Cheek's	taw poe
the mouth	Ei
the teeth	Ehe
the tongue	Che ye
the arm	Es toe
the hand	Nap pae
the nails	shag gea
the Chin	En tea
the Breast	maw cow
the side or Ribs	chew we
the thigh	Chus un daw
the Back	Ene tea
the Pinnis	Win chau'k

the Cods	soo sooe
the Rump	Oo' suc'k coo nuc'k
the Knee	taw caw
the Leg	chaw caw pee
the foot	See haw
the toes	See pint
the heart	Chande a
the Spring of the Year	Wye ag ge tea
the breaking up of the Ice	chaw gaw
the Summer	man no get
the fall of the Leaf	Pea taw it tow
the winter	won pe ett
the Sun	haw wet
the moon	Oak caw paw sow we
to go a hunting	Woo'de kin nim
fire	Pet
Cold	U'se nick
Hott	{ ha' ha' kit or mouss tach
any thing froze	taw sa quash
water	minnee
Stones	Ee aue
fatt	Woss naw
Meat	wat chun nuck
a Leather tent	wee
a tent Build	ti pee
a Dog	shun gaw
Wood	Chaw
snow shoes	Piss sea
come to trade	wo pea tum
Good	Was tach
Bad	E'ne got

a Cap	tash nock
to arrive	he bich
to go away	sin a bich
a man	win chaw
a woman	we no taw
a Child	tow esk con
a young man	wee chon
a young woman	wee che on
a Deer	ta tuck
a fish	mo gaw
Elk or cow's	taw
to make haste	Quiock
to Drink	min nee a'tee caw
to Eat	Ea taw
Debt or writting	Oe wap
tent poles	tuss sooe
Shag, a nap, pee or a } string of Leather }	tau'k a miss
a Englishman	wass seeck
a french man	pu sen tee
Indian's	win cheth
give me	Aue goe
a Goose	maw gaw
a cannoe	W'ha't
a padle	won ne maw hitch
you	E ask
me	wooss seoch
he	ne ca
Whole parchm't Beaver	Chaw paw
half do.	Chaw pe che on
Coat Beaver	she naw
a wolf	shooe a tong

a Catt	Ene mooe
a Quiquahatch	min nosh e haw
a martin	non tea paw ech
a Black Bear	woc wonk see aue ¹

*DISCOURSES UPON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS OF
ENGLISH & INDIAN*

{ It's to be observd. (*E*) stands for the Englishman or trader, and (*A*) the first Indian, (*B*) the second Indian, (*C*) the third, (*D*) the fourth &c.

<i>E</i> here is Indians padling down	{ E'thinuwuck petche pemis= = kian
<i>A</i> Where	tanta
<i>E</i> they are under the shore	shaw shie nash patimick
<i>A</i> freind have you go't any tent poles	{ coshaw'k nema na appersue = cunnawathemaw
<i>E</i> Ill put some out presantly	{ Kuttawirthewetahow = mechetick
<i>A</i> I have no tent	Nemattacun appaquashing
<i>E</i> nor I have none	Ur'this nishta nemattacun
<i>E</i> where is the Capt. or Leader	tonnewa' U'kemaw
<i>A</i> See yonder he sitts	mattacaw nema Kawappitt
<i>E</i> how do you freind	Watcheer Coshock
<i>B</i> thank you how do you	ho' watcheer watcheer
<i>E</i> how many cannoes is come along with you	{ tantarto utuck Caw= = wichawutt
<i>B</i> Sixty four cannoes or Seventy I believe	{ Coote washick metennaw navo = shoputuck Eskoneder neshuwashick meten na

¹ Two-and-a-half blank pages follow in the manuscript.

- C they will not be all here to
day their is many
 D half the young men are }
gone a hunting they are }
hungary
 E Did you kill no deer as you
padle'd Downe
 B no I see no Deer or any thing
Else
 C I Long to smoak or I am }
starv'd for want of }
smoaking
 B give me your pipe Let me
smoak with you freind
 B this tobacco has a bad taste,
I will not trade itt
 E I will ope'n another
 E Why you was not here Last
year
 B I was not well was the Reason
I was not here the Last sumr.
my cannoe mate Brought my
goods did not you see him
 E I did see him he Brought
your Debt
 E will you trade to Day
 B no tomorrow
- Nema kaw ke thow anoach
 Keshickaw Cuttamawhum
 mechenco
 pawkemarchet wiskeneck
 wache wemitsasuit
 nema na attick nippahawet
 a pechepemiskian
 nema wedar attick enwappamow
 urthis nemakaquan
 enwap pamow
 Enpe skop pesquan a wepeth =
 = twan
 Kes pogan peshue pethtahom =
 = mawin coshaw'k
 winnamaw kasue uma chestem =
 = mo nema weder uma enkaw =
 = tawwa
 Kotuck enkawoppahaun
 Donna nepanoak nema
 Kemaw hum
 Entawkoshin wache nema
 mishacott nepanoak entarti =
 = witt tatta peshuwuck enche =
 = mawgan—nema na
 Kewoppama Weder
 tatta wappamow Kemasin =
 = nahiggan mawker utta
 peshuwuck
 anoach keshickaw na'
 Kokawtoway
 nema wappakee

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p><i>E</i> Very well here is tobacco &
pipes serv'd itt out for the
young men to Smoak</p> <p><i>B</i> we'll trade some brandy
now the young men wants
to Drink</p> <p><i>E</i> make haste itt will be
night & you'l be drunk in
the morning & not trade</p> | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>haoko mockane chesstemmo</p> <p>u'spogan mawka mattanawan</p> <p>=wiskeneck Kullapethwan</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>Anoach Skuttawappo</p> <p>Enkokatawan Kurskatha=</p> <p>= tum wiskanecka</p> <p>weminequitt</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>Kenapee Culla to biscow</p> <p>wepuch Jappich</p> <p>Cuttaches squibbu Keka=</p> <p>=ship nema mawka</p> <p>Koka taway</p> </div> </div> |
|---|--|

*OBSERVATION'S ON THE TRADER & A GANG OF
INDIANS*

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <i>A</i> freind come I want to trade | Ecco coshaw'k en wekawtaway |
| <i>E</i> presently i am Eating | Mechetick enmitsun uma |
| <i>A</i> make haste it's flood I want
to be gone | Kenipa shashie patechechiwan |
| <i>E</i> presently presently | wekewan uma |
| <i>A</i> you are always Eating }
give me some } | Mechetick mechetick |
| <i>B</i> when shall we trade | Autamaw kemitsasu arsumin |
| <i>E</i> come and trade | tanspu enko kataway |
| <i>C</i> ope'n the window | E'equa Kawtaway |
| <i>E</i> the window is ope'n or
or I have op'n'd the window } | taw whin naw |
| <i>E</i> ope'n yr. Bundles of beavr. | Shashie parsketenna |
| <i>B</i> I have gott no Beaver | opohaw aurtiwick |
| <i>D</i> | Nemattau aurtiuc |

50 DISCOURSES UPON DIFFERENT

- E ho' what they are all smal
fur's I suppose what
was you a doing in the wint'r.
- B I was starv'd in the
winter was the Reason
I Killd. no Beaver
- E so make haste & trade
- E Where is my Debt
- C how many Beaver was I in
Debt
- E five Beaver in martins & ten
parchment Beaver
- C their and what must I trade
my beaver is all gone
- E that is Laughing talk
- B I will trade a Long gun
small and handy with a
Red gun case
- E here is a very good gunn
itt will not freese in the
winter
- D five Beaver in powder above
measure
- B a ten skin coate for shott
- E what sort of shott
- B mixture, grey goose shott
Duck shott & one of Ball
- Ka' mushac pisskeshisa =
= wian Etchekona donne actit
pepun nock
- yo' enpeskoppasquan
pepunnock wache nema
nochehaw a'misk
- Yaw kenapee Kawtaway
- Donnonna enmisinnahig =
= gan
- tantarto aurtiu'c
cawmesinahiggat
- Neanun aurtiuc wappastan =
= iwian Ecomawka metar =
= tat aurtie'
- mokane kaquan mawka
enkokataway Enmistinan
aurtiuc
- Kepawpananne kawetit
- parskasigan wekawtaway
Cawkenaworsquck na =
= howock misquock u'
Spikanawgan
- mawkane methoshasit
parskasigan nema cutta =
= miskowatin pepunnoack
- neanun aurtie peco hurra =
= wock Sickahaw
- metartut taquarsu tacope
arsinnee
- Ka ko arsinnee
- Kinnacow nishkosinnee
wawowsinnu piucaurtie
moosu sinnee arsittanaw

<i>E</i>	Very well	ha ha o'ko
<i>B</i>	take pity of me give good measure with a Little over	{Kittamawkasu na'spitch sockaskena hurrawock sickahaw
<i>B</i>	this is very Little	ya'appishasin uma'
<i>E</i>	your coate is bad & half summer Beaver	{Marratten ketacope pawke nepinawian aurtie
<i>A</i>	five Beaver in martins for powder	{Neanun aurtie wappastana = =wian pe co
<i>B</i>	a Bayonet	taw kawchican
<i>A</i>	Comb put a flint over	{sickahoон chokoshoiggan arsittan
<i>f</i>	an awle & needle with itt	{uscotchick shapunican arsitten
<i>G</i>	seven Beaver for an End of cloth	{neshu washic aurtie E'squaiggan
<i>E</i>	take time & trade, I can't see their is so many at the window	{piatuc kawtaway nema wappamow wache mechet nepawin pespoppawin
<i>A</i>	I want cloth white	{mantuiggan wappaiggan weentowathemow
<i>A</i>	hold I'll put two beaver more to itt	{Ka petaw neshu aurtie mena wearsittinan
<i>E</i>	put itt in	puc ka tin
<i>h</i>	a file	Ke na puchican
<i>C</i>	I want to trade an End of cloth corded their is all martins for itt	{E'squaiggan cawpashecock wekawtaway mokane mushack wappastana = wian uma
<i>E</i>	their your woman will be very fine	{mawkane cuttamirthawa = = nawkasu Es'quau
<i>D</i>	a steel 2 combs & a worm	{appeth neshu sickahoo'n Kittaheggan arsitt

- D a hatchett a narrow Ice chissel, & a shirt, their is 4 beaver
 { Chikahiggan, Kenakaw =
 = arsis sue—puckawianish
 muskatog'e—mawkane
 nawo aurtie
- E one is a $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver the other all $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver
 { wakasishawian piuc
 Kotuc unae mushake
 pawasishawian
- D Let them go I have no more Beaver
 { Eccoshe nemattacun
 mena aurtiuc
- E no I can not their is two whole Beaver wanting
 { nema weder neshu
 Kesha 'amisk nemattau
- E you forgett 2 half beaver is Equal to one whole Beaver
 { Kewonnathatum neshu
 wakasishawian tobiscutch
 piuc Kesha 'amisk
- D their is one Beaver you are hard you will not pity me, I will not come any more
 { mawkane piuc aurtie Ke =
 = addimisin nema Kekitta =
 = mawkasue nema mena
 Enkomhahum
- E they will not take so much pity on you at another factory
 { nema weder kawshanawkoshe
 Kurszewathema Kotuc
 warskahiggan
- f how many Beaver is yonder coate
 { tantarto aurtiuc nema
 tacope
- E five whole or old Beaver
 { neanun aurtiuc mushake
 Keshaamisk
- F how many Long Beads for a Beaver
 { tantarto narto menuck piuc
 aurtie
- E ten
 { metartut
- f that's hard I will not trade them
 { addaman nema weder
 Kokawtaway
- G your powder measure is sm'l
 { appishashin peco quapahigan
- E they are the same as us'd to be
 { I'appich Kiash shanawgoshitt
- B give me a Bayonet
 { tako checan peshue
- E put your beaver in
 { pucatin aurtie

B	Let me Look at more	$\begin{cases} \text{mota mena Kuttawopmo} \\ \text{or enkawappomow} \end{cases}$
E	they are all a Like	$\begin{cases} \text{mushac tobiscutch shenaw=} \\ \text{=goshitt} \end{cases}$
B	Do you think I'll steel	$\begin{cases} \text{enwekamute na' Ketetatha=} \\ \text{=mow} \end{cases}$
E	who say's you'l steel	$\begin{cases} \text{awowthewa'y Kokomuta} \\ \text{Eaitwill} \end{cases}$
E	Did you see any Ind's as you came down	$\begin{cases} \text{nema na athinue} \\ \text{Kewapma a petchepermis=} \\ \text{=kiat} \end{cases}$
A	ten Cannoes I see nigh hand & will be a great many more quickly	$\begin{cases} \text{metartut utuck kishe=} \\ \text{=wock enwappamow} \\ \text{mechetick mechet} \\ \text{Kullamawhum} \end{cases}$
E	have you done trading	away puna Kuttaway
B	we have done all but Brandy	$\begin{cases} \text{shashie Skuttawappo pic'ko} \\ \text{nema} \end{cases}$
A	a gallon cag of Brandy	$\begin{cases} \text{Kawneanun aurtie mestick=} \\ \text{=awou't Skuttawappo} \end{cases}$
E	itt's five Beaver you have but four	$\begin{cases} \text{neanun aurtie un'a picko} \\ \text{navo uma} \end{cases}$
A	I have no more their is a Beaver skin	$\begin{cases} \text{namattacun mena mokone} \\ \text{aurtiuc} \end{cases}$
E	when do we trade Beaver for Brandy or Beaver Coats for cloth	$\begin{cases} \text{tanspu aurtiuc skutta=} \\ \text{=wappa kawtaway wawach} \\ \text{michiwian mantiuggan} \\ \text{Kawtaway} \end{cases}$
B	I am come for 2 Bottles of Red water's	$\begin{cases} \text{Commisquakamick neshu} \\ \text{Uthogan Ennatu} \end{cases}$
C	a two quart cag of brandy I am come for	$\begin{cases} \text{Cawneshu aurtie mestick=} \\ \text{=awutt Skuttawappo} \\ \text{Ennatu} \end{cases}$

- E* their itt's mokanee
E have you done shashie naw
A Yes you may shutt the skeamon Keam kippahaw =
 windw. pespoppawin
A Give me some tobacco for Chestemmo peshu Kuttapeth =
 Indian's to smoak as I shall = twan Ethinue akewitt
 see some in going up Enkuttawap pamow
B your tobacco is bad itt's wenamawkositt Chestemmo
 very dry narspitch parsitt
E you have not Brought nema maursu wappastaniwi =
 many martins do not an Kepershuwuck Ecco weder
 be Lassy, Keep close to Kethtamau suc'ka wunnahiga
 trapping in the winter pepunnoack
A Very well Ha ha o co
E farewell good Luck to } Watcheer mockaway
 you }

*OBSERVATIONS ON AN ENGLISHMAN AND INDIAN
 A GOING A GOOSE HUNTING, VIZTT.*

- E* Come it's time to go the Grey Ecco kursheepoatin weputch
 geese will soon fly Kuttapimmathow neishcook
A where shall I pitch tanta enkapitchen
E where will the most geese be tanta Kuttahurrawock
 or weyweys mechet Wawewuck
A Over the River A'komick
E well Let itt be so anoach Eccoshe
A I woud have a good gun Kamurawashing parska =
E their is some Brandy may be = siggan weiewow
 you will shoot well mawkane skuttawappo me =
 scutch cuttanahashaway

A who serves powder out	$\begin{cases} \text{awunna cutta mattinaway} \\ \text{peco (or pethco)} \end{cases}$
E the Englishmen	wemustakushewuck
A it's a Long way to bring the geese	$\begin{cases} \text{war thow unna wekullape=} \\ \text{=shuwuck wawawuck} \end{cases}$
E Yonder is cask's, powder, & shott &c.	$\begin{cases} \text{shashie neta mestickawott} \\ \text{peco arsinnee \&c.} \end{cases}$
E Why you have Brought the first Goose that's Kill'd	$\begin{cases} \text{tonna mawna nishtum} \\ \text{Kenippahaw neishcoock} \\ \text{Kawpeshuwuck} \end{cases}$
A Yes, perhap's you will give me a Botle of Brandy	$\begin{cases} \text{skamon meskutch piuc athog'in} \\ \text{skuttawappo Kopetchemethin} \end{cases}$
E Yes, their itt's	skamon mokane uma
E where is the Stand	tanna wa' arsuiggan
A in the marsh	Nurscuacow
E Lets sitt down	Eccoshe appu
A har'k don't you here wey weys	$\begin{cases} \text{maw nema naw Kepathum} \\ \text{wawewuck} \end{cases}$
E yes' where are they	skamon tonnawaw una
A See yonder a great many	wappum neta mechenno'
E the weywey's are comming this way, call	$\begin{cases} \text{pimmathow wawewuck} \\ \text{tapo'ss} \end{cases}$
A no they are going from us	nema poppathau unna
E call, call	taposs taposs
A Did you fire your gunn	Kemittwatt na keparskasiggan
E yes, two at a shott	skamon neshustawow
A my gun will not go of	nema wemittwait enparskasiggan
A I'll go & gett another	Kotuc enkawnawtin
E I'll go with you	Enkowiche'wow
A how many geese have you Killd. to day	$\begin{cases} \text{tantarto wawewuck anoach} \\ \text{Keshickkaw kenippahaw'} \end{cases}$
E twenty and nine	shaw'k tartoshop neshu tenna

56 DISCOURSES UPON DIFFERENT

- | | | |
|----------|---|--|
| <i>A</i> | why you are a good hun= | { mawna sucky naharshaway
Chee' |
| | ter, hay! | |
| <i>A</i> | my powder is gone | Enmestinan peco |
| <i>E</i> | go and gett more measures | natu mena Quappahaw |
| <i>E</i> | what are you come for | Kaquan Kenatu'n |
| <i>A</i> | their is thirty geese & my powder is all gone that I took | { mawkane nishto metenna
wawewuck enmestinan
peco cawquappahaw't |
| <i>E</i> | will you take any more measures of powder | { Koquappahaw na mena
peco |
| <i>A</i> | three measures make haste they fly well | { Nishto Quappahiggan
Kenapee narspitch
pimmathow |
| <i>E</i> | four wanting | navo nemattau |
| <i>V</i> | they are not pick't yet | nema Esqua puskuppatow |
| <i>A</i> | I mist always or Every shott, to Day | { mushake enpottawow anoah
Keshickaw |
| <i>E</i> | you fire fair off | warthow Keparskasutt |
| <i>a</i> | their is no geese they went in the night being allways flying | { shashie namattu wawe=
=wuck ottamaw pimma=
=thow tobiscook |
| <i>E</i> | is their many Duck's | mechet na'sheship |
| <i>V</i> | their is many | 'tatta mechet |
| <i>E</i> | Kill them then | Eccoshe nippahaw |
| <i>a</i> | I want to pitch away & go up the River to Look for Deer | { Kurskathatum awepeche=
pichewuck notimmuck=
attick Encullawappamow |
| <i>E</i> | you may Come away | { Eccoshe keam petche
pitchawuck |
| <i>E</i> | Bring all your guns | { cockathow parskasiggan
peshuwuc |
| <i>E</i> | Leave the feather bag's } | nuckatow pechepewian neta |
| | Behind | |

SUBJECTS OF ENGLISH & INDIAN

57

- A* I'll bring some deer if
I Kill any
 - a* What is your Loving bitt
 - E* the tongues
 - a* Very we'll I will take great
care of them
 - E* take care of the fatt also
 - E* if you see any young geese
bring them, & foxes
 - E* you have soon come back
 - a* their is no deer they walkd.
before I gott their
 - E* What have you Brought
 - a* one Rump, 4 sides and
twenty Sturgeon
 - E* Where will you go now
 - a* Ill stay & see the Ship
 - A* When will she arrive
 - E* in one month or moon I }
 - a* believe
 - A* how many day's is their to
Come of the time she came
 - Last year
 - E* thirty and two
 - a* when do you go away
 - E* I do not Know
 - a* I shall greive when you go
 - E* where will you go in the
winter
- {Enkopeshuwuck attick nip =
=pahau't
 - Kaquan Kuttawachetogan
 - Uttethinnue
 - {ha'haoco tarpoe sucky
Enkocunnawathamow
 - pimme nishta cunnawathamow
 - {Nishkosishuc' wapmamow
Eccoshe peshuwuck mekeshusish
mawka
 - wa weputch Kemishacatt
 - {nemattau attick shashie
permotau nema esqua neta
tuckashitt
 - Kaquan Kepeshuwuck
 - {piuc usogan navo uspuckie
neshutenna mawka nemau'
tanta Ecco Kopusin
 - {Enka'appen Chemon
Enkawoppamow
 - tansby Cullamishacow
 - Ka piuc ubesum cawkie
 - {tantarto Keshickaw nema
Esqua tokashake
Cawquiastoack
 - nishto metenna neshushop
 - tansby ko kewan
 - {whiskowu'n nema heskatha =
=mow
 - Enkopetaskotum patuss Kewan
 - {tanta pepunnoack
Kopitchen

- a in Land I will go if I kill
deer the first of the winter
I will trap martins
- E you'l come again in the Spring
- a Yes, yes
- E farewell good Luck to you
- nochemick enkopitchen
attick nippahaut mekis =
= koack wappastan
Enkowunnahiggu
sekanoack mena na
Kotuckashitt
Ske'amon ske'amon
Wa'tche'er mockaway

*OBSERVATIONS ON 2 PERSONS GOING A HUNTING
AND TRAPPING &c.*

- A will you go a hunting
- B yes, where shall we go
- A in the plain's
- B what shall we go after or
Kill
- a Why we will Kill partridgs.
if we see any
- B I thought to have made some
martin trap's
- a Let itt be so then I will take
my hatchett & some Baits
- B Come make haste it's a
great way of where the
martin tracks are
- a this is a fine day
- B but it's very cold
- away komarchin
skeamon tanta Kuttamarchin
Kusq'ue
Kaquan unna kuttaentawaret =
= tum (alis) nippahaw
tanna wappathau Kuttapar =
= skasu wapmut
wappastan wunahiggan we =
= cuttawushatit uma Entetatha =
= tin
Eccoshe entowache chikahiggan
mechem ta kochican mawka
enkotokanin
Ecco kinnapee warthow un'a
nema esqua wappastan u'
meskan cuttawapmow
murrawatticko Keshickaw
uma
tatta narspitch Kissen

- a here is many partridges
 B Do you kill some and I will make trap's
 B how many have you Kill'd
 a they are very wild I gott but Sixty
 B here is many tracks of martins
 a I am pleas'd to here so
 B Yes I hope we shall kill many
 B I am hott itt grow's Late
 A we have made 40 traps time to go home
 B Let's go
 a here, here, is a martin
 Catch't in a trap itt makes me Laugh }
 B Skin itt then, Laugh an you will I am tir'd
 a here is a great many Rabbitt tracks }
 B we'll bring some snares tomorrow make a hedge & sett some
 a I am a hungry

mechet wappathau o'ta
 Eccoshe Keder nippahaw
 neder wunahiggan enko =
 = wushatun
 tantarto Kenippahow
 narspitch pemmathow!
 picko cuttawashick metenna
 ennippahaut
 nars'pitch mattahaw
 wappastan 'otta
 Enmurthawattum wache
 shenawkoshitt
 sk'amon enkawnippahaw
 mechet entatathatin
 Entapoasin mawne
 utawkoshit (*or*) Kekat
 tobiscow
 shashie navo metenna
 wunnahiggan worhatat
 entowatch enkokewan
 Eccoshe Keway
 ota' ota' shashie tarsusue
 wappastan enwepawpin
 pawquin Keampawpee
 Entieskotan neder
 Mechet wappuss miskan ota'
 Entowatch naquacan wappake
 enkotokan minnacan kutta =
 = wushatat kullapuckatawow
 mawka
 enwemitsasune

60 DISCOURSES UPON DIFFERENT

- B* what shall we eat
A how much can you eat
B I do not Know
- a* here is but 2 of us we'll have six partridges, a peice of Bacon, two geese & some Dumplings, all Boyd shall us
- B* you are greedy we can not eat itt all
a Yes, yes & more too
B you will not Sleep at night
a I am pleas'd my Belly is full
B what will you Drink
a a Little punch & to Sleep
B I'll make you Drink
a Very well we must gett up as soon as Day Light
- B* come itt's Day Gett up
A my head ach's with drinking Last nigh't
B to walk out you will be well
A It's a Drifty snowy Day & Cold
B 20 martins freind this is well
a the Quiquahatch has Eat four & broke many trap's, here is his track where he is just gone
- Kaquan enkomitsune
tanerthuook Komitsun
nema Enskeskathemow
mawne picko neshue uma
Entowach Kuttawashick
wappatha coocoosh wears'h ie'a'
neshu wawow arsummin
perquas hecan mawka musha'ke
Kullaparcawshemaw away
Kekawshick nema missaway
cuttakittow
Skeamon skeamon mena mawka
nema Kuttanippaw a'tobiskoak
Ennahathatim a Kispu'n
Kaquan Cuttaminaquau
amansish sukawoppo enko=
= nippa mawkaw
Enkotarpartin
ha ha'oco shashie wappun
Cuttawiniskow
Ecco shashie wappun
weniskaw
Entestaquan wache minna=
= qutt tobiscoak
Cuttamurrawashing permotau
narspitch pewan uma
Keshickaw Kissen wawach
neshutenna wappastan uma
murthawashing Coshake
Yo' shashie navo mitsutt
Quiquahaku mechet mawka
wunahiggan pekopatum maw=
= ny ota' anoach mattahaw

<i>B</i>	make a trap for him & I will sett my Gun	{wunnahiggan worhatit neder enparskasiggen enkoockatau
<i>a</i>	Come we will sett some snares	Ecco nawquaquan kopucatawow
<i>B</i>	no partridges	nemattau wappathau
<i>A</i>	we shall see some presently I have Kill'd a pheasant	{mechetick Kuttawappamow yakisko piuc shashie neppahaw
<i>B</i>	is itt fatt	wethin'o na
<i>a</i>	no	a'nema
<i>B</i>	yonder is some flying	mawne nema Kapimmathow
<i>a</i>	how many have you Kill'd	tantarto Kenippahau
<i>B</i>	twenty	neshutenna
<i>a</i>	and I 15	neanun ushop mitartut neder
<i>B</i>	we will go home	Entowatch Enkokewan
<i>a</i>	which way will you go to Day	{ tanto komarchin anoach Keskickaw
<i>B</i>	I'll go Look for Deer I shall see some at the hills, perhap's	{ Entowatch attick enkuttawap= =mow mescutch nedamarto= =wache Kuttawappamow una
<i>a</i>	I will go to the traps & snares	{ neder wunnahiggan naqua= =quan mawka enkuttawappo= =mow
<i>B</i>	Well what have you Broug't	{tonn'a Kaquan Kepeshue piuck oshop metartut wappastar
<i>a</i>	11 martins, 8 Rabbits, three snares broke, & the quiqua= =hatch that broke the snares, they are heavy	nean nu wappus nishto na= quaquan mawka pekoperritt we'a mawka Quiquahaku Caw pekopatat wunna higgan;—Che' Kusaquan
<i>B</i>	I see some Deer Kill'd but one	{attick Enwappamut picko piuck Ennippahaut
<i>A</i>	Where is itt	tannawauna

62 DISCOURSES UPON DIFFERENT

- B I Left itt we'll go tomorrow
for itt theer is a great many
track's
- a Yonder is many Deer
- B so what shall we do with
all these deer twenty we have
Kill'd
- a I do not Know, Let's dry itt
- B No, do you go tell the English
men for the Dog's to haw'l
itt
- a Nothing this Day
- B its so Cold the martins
will not take bate
- a are the trap's Baited
- B no
- a We will go no more to them
tell the Spring when it's
warne, then they will
take baite
- B will you go along with
me in the spring
- a Yes
- B Don't Lie
- A I won't Lie, Ill come in
Eagle moon, or Grey goose
moon
- Ennuckatau wappake
Cuttanatu' mechet unna mesk =
= an
mechet attack netaw
- Yo! tanna cuttatutamuck
um'a Kawmechet attack ecco
neshutennaw Cawnippahut
whiskowun nemakeska =
= thamow Entowach Eccoshe
pursue
- nema' Eccoshe keder towway
Kurshapoetit whittemou
wemistacushewuck attim
Kuttanash toppa
- nemakaquan anoach
Keshickkaw
- nema pamathatum mechim
tokochican wappastan
wache Kissen
- mechim takochaku na
utta wunahiggan
- nema
- Eccoshe nemu menu cuttana =
= tumuc mawne patuss sekonoak
a Keisha poeat Kullapamathatum
mechim tokochican
- Kowichewow na neder
Sekonoak
Skeamon
- Ecco weder Kedasque
- nemaweder Kedasque meku =
shaobesum enkotuckashin
Esko neder nishkoobesum

- B farewell freind tell I see
you againe
W'hatcheer cosha'ke Errekoak
mena wappamow
a farewell Live Long
w'hatche'r sucky athethu &c.

INDIAN'S COMING IN THE WINTER TO TRADE &c.

- A I am hungry
Yo! Sucky Enwemittsunn
uma
- B I am starv'd no Deer to be got
Enpeskoppaquan uma!
nemattau urthawash attick
- E their is tobacco & pipes smoak
mawkane uspogan stemmo
arsitt pethwan
ho! ho' ho!
- A B than'k you
- E how many nights have you
been a comming (or how
many nights did you sleep)
tantarto tobiscow Kepetche =
= nippaw
- B 14 nights I Left my tent
mait's, a great way off
navo shop metartutt tobis =
= cow ennuckatow newigga =
= mawgan warthow una!
enteiskotan
- a I am much tir'd
- E Did you see no Indians
as you came
nema na athinue wappa =
= mow a petche permotau
- a No, has none been in here
this winter
nema nemaesqua ota'
tuckashitt anoachpepunn
- E Yes, their was two Indians
came four nights ago, &
seven three nights ago,
that's all
skeamon utta' navo tobiscoak
neshue athinue tuckashitt
wee'r mawka neshuwashick
tobiscoak nishto athinue
tuckashitt hao'quane picko
- E their is some bread & Burgue
mawkane harrakanau atho =
= minnappu mawka
- a thank you freind
ho' ho' cunne cunna cosha'ke

64 SUBJECTS OF ENGLISH & INDIAN

E	will you go to day away	anoach Keshickaw na kokewan
B	no tomorrow	Nema wappake'
E	will you trade now	Anoach na kokataway
B	no my head ach's w'th drinkg. Last night I can't go to Day	{ nema Entiestequan wache minnaquit tobiscoak nema anoach tobiscoak Kokewan
A	my gunn is broke	pekoperry enparskasiggan
B	come we'll go away	Ecco entowach keway
E	their is tobacco for Indians to smoak if you see any	{ mawkane chestemmo athinue Cuttapethtwan wapmut
a	Very well	ha haoco
B	Ill be in at the Breaking } up of the Rivers	wetis scumma encawmahum ¹

¹ Five blank pages follow in the manuscript.

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

I observe in these Norther'n parts the natives have but *of the world* obscure notions of a Deity &c.: however they beleive their is a good spirit which concern's himself not with them, therefore pay him no adoration,—an Evill spirit they Beleive in & worship him from fear, the manner shall be seen in itt's proper place, which is all the acc't I can give upon this Subject, Neither is itt possible to give Indian for all the Different stiles in our English Language, as itt may be observ'd that one word in the Indian tongue Stands for Severall meanings as,

The sky & clouds one word in their Language means *the sky & Clouds* both, as Likewise Star, or stars, they having no notion of Jupiter, mars, Venus, &c.: therefore give them all *the stars* one name as Just observ'd: the four corner's of the *the Corner's of the world* world they Stile, and observe, But have no Knowledge of all the Various points of the Compass, Neither have they any call for such, they Seldom or ever going out of Lakes, Rivers, & creeks, which they can see a cross from *River's & Lakes* Land to Land, and not above five or Eight miles wide,— their Vessels indeed are not of strength or Bulk to Venture fair out of Rivers into the ocean, being but very weak & thin and made of the Rhine of Berch, and of the shape & make as Lahonton,¹ and others make mention

¹ The Baron Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America . . .* (London, 1703), I, 25, 26-9, "Letter VI. Dated at Montreal June 20. 1684. Being an ample

66 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

of, the Longest 18 foot in the Kee'l,—these Boats or
Canoes are so Light,—that 2 men will carry them one
by one a cross Land from Lake to Lake some miles, with
all their household Effects upon their backs &c.—

The climate may be Reckon'd a Very healthfull place
with fine sweet air,¹—I have observ'd itt Excessive hott
for a Small time in the Summer, the severity of the Cold
in the winter makes us fell' itt so, which summer here
may be Reckon'd four month's, itt begining abt. the
20th of may, and Ending abt. the Last of august, with
fine Light gales at So.So.Wt. & Wt. when the No.Wt.
and Nn. winds begins to sett in, with unsufferable Cold
weather, with hard snow, & great Drifts for 8 month's
togeather,—having Known Drift banks of snow, 30 feet
perpenticular, the winds and weather is very uncertain
and Various in these parts, in the winter month's, for itt
oft'n happens we shall have fine moderate weather, in a
winter morning w'n before night approches, a sudden
gale will spring up with Drift & snow to that Degree,
that if men happen's to be out, and drest for warm
weather, they Run a great Resque of their Lives,—
Several having perrishd. by such sudden Storm's,—a
most Shocking thing and a Dismal object to see a man
when first found froze, as hard as a Rock;
Notwithstanding the Cloathing hereafter mention'd;—

Description of the Canows made of Birch-bark, in which the Canadians perform all their Voyages ; with an account of the manner in which they are made and manag'd."

¹ This statement cannot be taken at its face value. See, for example, the references to fogs on pp. 67, 74.

itt's past beleif to think the Surprizing Effect the frost *the surprising effects of Cold*
has in these parts,—I have known men to stand at the saw for only 20 minuets when their face & hands has been froze so, they have been oblige'd to Retire to the Surgeon to have Such Cur'd or Cutt off &c.

In the winter season as before observ'd we have Various winds, But most frequently N.-N.N.Wt. & N.Wt. which blow's the coldest at that time, which may be computed to the Vast track of Barren ground, ope'n, Lakes, Rivers, and Bay's, we Lye Expos'd to on the back of us;—and a Et. Et.So.Et. & S.Et. blows warmest in the winter, But towards the Latter end of Aprill the No.Et. Et. & Et.b.S. blows for Days togeather with damp foggs, and chilly cold,—which winds are a great hinderance to our goose seasons, Driving all the geese over Land, wherefore we have not them in the marshes; —and further observations,—these men that are so froze, or any one that Dyes and are Burried 6 foot under the surface of the ground, continues hard froze for many Year's, and Believe never will be thaw'd unless taken up,—by the Experience of frozen ground, &c. (page 69)

But still altho it's so excessive cold downe by the Sea shore, it's considerable more mild, & warmer, further in Land, where I think great improvmnt might be made, in trade &c.—by making Setlements further in Land,— Nay further I do not think itt unpracticible for the English to make a Setlement at the head of port Nelson *a setlem't propos'd up P.N.R.*

River,¹ & to be supply'd from the Lower parts &c. where they might send the Indians to which place they please, or traffick with them their,—being a branch almost all Indians seperates² Either to go to York fort, or Churchill,—this proceeding wou'd be of great service, for by so doing they might gett double the fur's, they do now,—by Reason of the Difficulty's the Indians meets with in Comming to the Lower parts, & in a few years might with god's will,—be able to roat the French out of that small Settlement they have at the great Lake,³ (or Little

¹ It is not possible to identify on a modern map the site Isham really had in mind "at the head of port Nelson River", for it must be remembered that neither he nor his men had been far inland and that he was dependent on the Indians for his geographical knowledge. But bearing in mind the positions of the French forts and the Indian route from the Saskatchewan River to York Factory via Minago River and Cross Lake on Nelson River (see notes 2 and 3), it seems highly probable that by "the head of port Nelson River" Isham really meant somewhere on the North Saskatchewan River.

² As will be seen from Appendix B, p. 309, the "Keiskatchewan" (i.e., Saskatchewan) Indians traded mainly at York Factory and Churchill. Isham's idea to have a post "at the head of port Nelson River", i.e., in the same area as the nearest French post, Fort Bourbon (see n. 3), and near the spot where the Indians separated for York Factory and Churchill, indicates that Cumberland Lake or nearby was the point of separation. Travelling from the Saskatchewan River, the route north from Cumberland Lake via Namew Lake, Amisk Lake, Sturgeon-weir River, Mirond Lake and across Frog Portage (Portage de Traite) led to Churchill River and so down to its mouth. The Indians travelling to York Factory from the Saskatchewan River had a choice of routes. They could avoid Lake Winnipeg by leaving the Saskatchewan after Cumberland Lake and travelling through Moose Lake, down Minago River to Cross Lake on the Nelson, thence to Trout and Bear Lakes, down Leaf and Fox Rivers, and down Hayes River to York Factory, or they could go by way of Lake Winnipeg, Little Playgreen Lake, up the Echimamish, over the height of land to Oxford Lake, and down Hayes River to York Fort. Yet a third route would have been down Nelson River, but L. J. Burpee (ed.), *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his Sons . . .* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1927), p. 190, thought this unlikely.

³ Isham was no doubt referring to Lake Winnipeg. The "small Settlement"

sea so call'd by the natives wch. is near the fork) by advantages that might be take'n,—these proceedings I think reasonable, for if we was never to make such discovery's in Land, itt's certain we shou'd never Reap the Benefit of what might be Discover'd.—But what is the most Concer'n is to see us sitt quiet & unconcern'd while the french as an old saying, not only Beats the Bush but run's away with the Hair also:—itt's an Error in Laying down port nelson River, for in the Room of one mile wide¹ itt's 9 mile a cross, which is one very good Reason, for itt's not freezing so soon over as your shole narrow River's—which River is seldom froze over tell Jan'y.—whereas all other Rivers along the Coast is froze over by the midle of November.

Beer, wine, brandy spirits &c. sett out in the ope'n air for three or four hour's, will freeze to Solid Ice, not only so, but have known by the Extreamity of the cold, a two gallon Botle of water to freeze solid by the stove

of the French was Fort Bourbon on the west side of the present Cedar Lake, which empties into the Saskatchewan and Lake Winnipeg. By 1743 the following French posts had been established by Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, and his sons in the course of their "Search for the Western Sea"; Fort St. Pierre at the outlet of Rainy Lake (1731); Fort St. Charles at the "North-West Angle" of Lake of the Woods (1732); the first Fort Maurepas five leagues up the Red River from Lake Winnipeg (1734); Fort Rouge at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers (1738); Fort La Reine near Portage la Prairie (1738); Fort Dauphin on Mossy River flowing out of Lake Dauphin and into Lake Winnipegos (1741); and Fort Bourbon on Bourbon (now Cedar) Lake (1741). See A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 . . .* (London, 1939), pp. 167-98, and Burpee, *Journals of La Vérendrye . . .*, *passim*.

¹ Isham is comparing the Nelson with Hayes River. See Joseph Robson, *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay, From 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747* (London, 1752), Plate No. 1, "A Draught of Nelson & Hayes's Rivers . . .".

side, in the housses we Dwell in, and can affirm that the spidle has froze solid before half upon the ground from the mouth,—the sun's Refraction at this fort Churchill to Every Degree above the horizan has been try'd by C't Chr. Middleton,¹ when I was by, but to no purpose, the Spirit's freezing almost as soon as Brought into the op'n air,—I was by when the Said C.M. try'd several times to make observations of some Celestial Bodies, perticular the Emersions of the salitties of Jupiter, with Reflecting and Refracting tellescopes,²—but the metals & glasses by that time fix'd to the objec't was Cov'd. a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick of Ice, and therefore the Object Renderd

¹ For a biography, see Appendix C, pp. 325–34. See also Christopher Middleton, *A Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton, in a Late Voyage on Board His Majesty's Ship the Furnace, for Discovering a North-west Passage to the Western American Ocean. In Answer To certain Objections and Aspersions of Arthur Dobbs, Esq.; . . .* (London, 1743), “Captain Middleton's Account of the Extraordinary Degrees and Surprizing Effects of COLD in Hudson's-Bay, North America, read before the Royal Society, Oct., 28, 1742”, p. 195. See also John Barrow (ed.), *The Geography of Hudson's Bay : being the Remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1852), Appendix, “The effects of cold ; together with observations of the longitude, latitude, refraction of the atmosphere, and declination of the magnetic needle, at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River, in Hudson's Bay, North America. By Christopher Middleton, commander of his majesty's ship “Furnace”, 1741–42”, p. 130.

² London, Public Record Office, Adm. 1/2099, “Captain Middletons Demand for Matheml. Instruments &c” included :

- “ 1 Two foot refecting Telescope } for Jupiters Satellites
- 1 Fifteen foot Refracting Do. }
- 1 Four Foot Day Tellescope ”

The refracting telescope as used by Galileo suffered many disadvantages and was considerably modified in the eighteenth century. The most important modification was the discovery of achromatic compound lenses (using glasses of varying refractive indexes) by Dollond in 1757. Meanwhile Sir Isaac Newton had produced his Reflecting Telescope, which achieved both greater magnification and greater illumination.

indestinct, so that itt's with much Difficulty that any observation can be take'n.

The shortness of the summer's is not Suffitient to thaw the Ice the severity of the winter occation's therefore itt geathers more and more Every year, for which Reason the frost is never out of the ground, in these parts, for in Dig'ing three or four foot downe in the ground in the mids't of the summ'r. you shall find hard froze'n Ice, which Ice may be ab't two foot thick, then come to soft ground again, for a small Depth and above six or Eight foot Downe itt's all hard Ice,—in Summer it's with much Difficulty you may Dig so Low down.

The water's and Rivers near the sea where the water Ebbs and flows does not freeze above ten, twelve, or 14 foot Deep, But in smaller Rivers, Lakes, and upon the shores the water freezes to a much greater Substance.

It's but Seldom we have Hail in these part's, which is only in the Summer month's, and of no Small Substance, —their having fell hail stones of a Very Great Bigness, and computed to be as Large as Duck Eggs.

It's unknown the great Deluge that is in these parts, and the Damages that is occasion'd by such Deluges or floods of water, at the Breaking up of the River's, with the Sudden thaw's in the Spring of the years,—the Ice being froze to the ground confines the water that itt has not passage to vent itt self into the Sea, which occasion's a Rising of water some fathom's Deep which in a small time spreads over the Land,—Blow's the Ice up with a

*Continual
froz't &c.*

*the
Substance
of Ice*

*Large
Hail*

*Great
deluges
wth.
Suddn.
thaw's*

*trees tore
up*

high banks

*some
thousand
Loads of
wood
Drove out
to sea*

*Large
Rocks
split by the
frost (i.e.)
C.C.M.¹*

*the Sun's
Rising &
Setting &c.*

Noise as terribble as thunder,—Breaks all the Bank's of the Rivers downe,—tear's trees Down of great Substance by the Roats,—for some Distance in Land, Notwithstanding bank's on the Edge of the River's 20 or 30 feet perpenticular,—it's past Belief to Ima'gine the Damage that happen's by such Deludges or floods,—I have Known the Ice when going out of the Rivers, to appear Like a wood or grove of trees with the perdigious Quantity of wood, which has been Brought of the shores by the water and Ice, when these floods has happn'd, which is frequent in the shole Rivers, that abounds with Islands, tho not so Bostorius some years as other's.—

“ the Rock's w'ch. are split by the frost, are hove up in
 “ great heaps, Leaving Large Cavaties behind, Which
 “ I take to be caus'd by imprisoned watery Vapour's
 “ that Require more Roome, when froze then they
 “ occupy in their fluid State.—Neither do I think itt
 “ unaccountable that the frozt shou'd be able to tear up
 “ trees, Rock's, and Split the beams of our housses,
 “ when it's conciderd the force and Elasticity, thereof,—
 “ if Beer or water is Left in mug's or Cans, nay, in
 “ Copper potts of a s'evere night, are surely splitt to
 “ peices before morning, not being able to withstand the
 “ Expencive force of the inclosd. Ice.”

The suns Rising and setting has been observ'd here, five or Six months in the winter, by Ct. Chtr. Middleton

¹ See Middleton, *Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton*, pp. 194-5.

1742:¹ where say's he,—“ I had a good second watch for
 “ the time, having computed the Sun's true place, thence
 “ his Declination at the time when such appearance
 “ happen'd and his apperent Rising sooner then the true
 “ time by Eight minuets, and his setting apperently so
 “ much Later, so that the apperent Day is Larger then
 “ the Real Day, by almost 16 minutes, and Consequently
 “ the apperent night is so much shorter.—then the true
 “ night making the Horizontall Refractions more than
 “ a Degree, and as the Refractions occation's an Error,
 “ in the time of suns Rising and Setting, so itt Likewise
 “ Vitiates the Amplitude; and this must be observ'd by
 “ marriners or they will never gaine the Declination of
 “ the magnitic Needle with any Certainty, by Reason
 “ itt was taken upon a place 40 feet above the Surface of
 “ the ocean, and about 8 feet above all the Land in the
 “ way of the Sun's Rising & setting in the midle of the
 “ winter.”

Halo's or mock sun's are seen frequent in these parts, *Halo's or mock Sun's*
 abou't the sun and moon, I have observ'd them for two or three times a week about the sun, as also abt. the moon, for five or Six months in the winter, several of Differt. Diameters, appearing at one and the Same time, and further says he,—“ I have seen five or Six parellel

¹ Cf. Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, “The effects of cold... By Christopher Middleton...”, p. 132. The paragraph quoted by Isham does not appear in Middleton's “Account of the Extraordinary Degrees and Surprizing Effects of COLD...” in *Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton.*

74 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

*Corones
parhelia*

“ Corone’s Concentrick with the sun Several times, in
“ the winter for the most part Very Bright, and alway’s
“ attended with holo’s or mock suns,—the parhelia are
“ always accompany’d with Corona’s if the weather is
“ Clear, and Continues for severall Days togeather, from
“ the suns Rising to his setting—their Rings are of
“ Various Colour’s, and about 40 or 50 Degrees in
“ Diameter.”

*Aurora
Borealis*

The aurora Borealis is frequently seen here, in the winter, free from their apperances, they shine with a Surprizing Brightness,—dark’ning all the Stars, planets, &c. Covering the whole Hemesphere—their trimulous motions from Every part,—their Beauty & Lustre, are much the same as in other parts of the world.

*the
Surprizg.
Eff’ts of
Cold*

Further Says he,—“ the Dreadfull Long winters here
“ may be Compar’d to the polar parts, where the
“ absence of the sun continues for 6 month’s, Yet the air
“ is perpitually chill’d and frozen by the Notherly winds,
“ in the winter, and the Cold fog’s and mist’s obstructing
“ the suns Beam’s in the short Summer’s, we have here,
“ for Notwithstanding the snow and Ice is then Desolv’d
“ in the Low Lands and plains, yet the mountains are
“ perpitual cover’d with snow, and incredible Large
“ bodies of Ice in the adjacent Sea’s”,—if the air blow’s
from the Sowthwd. parts itt’s Extream warm as before
mentiond. But Excessive cold when itt blows from the
Northw’d.—in the Spring of the years we have Constant
Light gales between the N. & Et. &c. Every full and

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 75

Change of the moon, Very hard Gales from the N. to
N.Wt. in the winter month's. as to further observation page 82
L. 10 (i.e.)
[p. 67,
l. 12]
on the Vast bodies of Ice Refer to C.C.M. Remarks on
Hudsons Bay with the surprizing Effects of Cold &c.
&c. &c.

It's a most Surprizing thing and past belief to I'magine
the force and Effects the Ice has in these parts, and cou'd
not credit such had not I been Eye witness, Large Rock
stones the Ice has Lifted & Carry'd of the shores, stones
of several tuns weight, has been see'n Lying upon Ice at
the setting in of the Rivers, much more at the Breaking
up of the River's, when the Ice is froze fast to the
ground, and the Deluges or floods of water forcing such
up, thereby carry's them some Distance from their
former beds;—as Likewise the sand and Gravel, which
is the occation of so many sholes we have in wide Large
Rivers.—as for my part the Very worst coulour's itt's
possible to Sett this part of the country off, is to good,—
and I can not say but it's pretty nigh the truth Middletons
Discription of his Journal (Page 15 Dobs.).¹

I have observd. the Indians or natives in these
Northr'n parts have no Regard or Distinction of Days! *of Day's*
sundays and workdays being all alike to them,—observes
the Christians Keeping the Sabbath day, which they
stile a Reading Day, by Reason of the men's not being
at their weekly work on that Day, as also Christmass Day,

¹ Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the North-west Part of America ...* (London, 1744), p. 15.

New years Day, & St. G. day,¹ Which they stile the Englishmans feast, &c.

*their
feasts*

They have perticular Days they make feasts of which is at a time when several tribes meets togeather, at such a time one treats another tell all their provender is gone, Eating from morning to night,—and itt's to be observ'd he who Keeps the feast obliges Every one to Eat what is alotted him, and not to make waste, or to give any of his Companians any (observation of which as follows;)

Happe'ning once to be travelling, I was Very trouthy so seeing an Indian tent not fair out of my way, I call at the tent to Drink some of their Shagamittee² which I did Very heartily, (Notwithstanding itt was full of hair's & Dirt, Like themselves, for you must Know they are none of the clenliest in their Victuals or cloathing.) to proceed, —where was abou't 30 Indians very merry Dispos'd with two old men, one Drumming on a peice of parchment tied on an op'n Kettle,—the other with a ste'k Like a Ratle, with parchmt. on both sides, and shott or stones on the inside to make itt Ratle, asking the Reason of all this seeming mirth,—one made answer itt

¹ St. George's Day, April 23.

² See p. 217. According to Henry Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's-Bay, By the Dobbs Galley and California, In the Years 1746 and 1747, For Discovering a North West Passage . . .* (London, 1748), p. 188, "Shaggamitie" was "the Broth of Fish". Clerk of the California, *An Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Streights, To the Western and Southern Ocean of America. Performed in the Year 1746 and 1747 . . .* (London, 1749), II, 58, "... He [Ellis] gives the Name of *Shaggamitie* peculiarly to a Broth of Fish, which Name any one that is acquainted with *America*, knows they give to all Broth, of what Kind soever . . .".

was a goose feas't as they styl' itt, when I was immediately ask'd by the Chief of the tent to take part,—accordingly being willing to Satisfie my Curiosity, I sitts downe upon a Bundle of Ruhiggan¹ which was handed to me; when Looking round me I see them all sett to work, some a picking, & some a trussing of Geese, downe they went to the fire,—some Roasted, some Boyl'd &c. when in two or three hour's, singing, Dancing, & talking, Every one took their seat, round the inside of the tent, when the feast was serv'd up,—Each had his goose to Devou'r,—who was to Eat the flesh of and not break the bones.—I must needs say had not I had a comming stomach, I shou'd have repented of my staying, to see them tear the flesh of with their teeth, with grease up to their Eyes, & hands as black as any Chimnly Sweepers, Spitting upon one another Cloath's, &c.—But I made a shift to manage my goose as fast as possable was getting up to be gone, when I was stop'd by the Chief of the tent, for which did not a Little surprize me,—for their askg. me to eat as welcome to w'at they had, was not the Case,—they had contriv'd a scream as soon as I appeard, for say's they,—if he eats with us, he must give us Liquor in the Roome, so finding itt the best way to be clear I accordingly takes them home gives them some Liquor & they Departed well pleasd. and I was satisfied in my curiosity and Glad I had gott Clear of my unmannerdly company.

¹ See pp. 81, 156.

*months or
moons*

I o'bserve Likewise they have no names for the Day's of the wee'k, more than tomorrow Day after tomorrow, or 3 Day's to come, or 3 Days past, and as to Years they go by months (alias moons) wch. moons they style according to the times and Seasons of the year, as goose moon, frog moon &c. (page 7) by which if itt happ'n's to be a forward winter, and an Early spring they are one month or moon out in their Reckoning, for some time afterwards, and occasions their Drawing to the English forts, sooner then they otherwise wou'd do, for to hunt for the factory in the Season times. it's to be observ'd that those Indians that hunts at Seasons for the forts, can not do without the assistance of the English, any more than the English without them, for the Cheif of our Living is this Country's product &c. &c. . . .

*their
Stature*

The men are for the most part tall and thin streight & clean Lim'd Large bon'd and full breast'ed, their is Very few Crooked or Deform'd persons amongst them but well shap'd, neither are they of any Large Bulk or corporation, tho' very much when young which is nothing Strange considering the Quantity of water they Drink, and their unmercifull Eating & Cormotizen,—a fawne, a whole or old Beaver, will make but a tollerable meal for an Indian, they observing no sett times for meals, Eating Continually if they can any way procure itt. they provide for to Day & tomorrow may provide for itt Self,—they are of a Sworthy complexion, and have seen Europians not so fair, Especialy those Indians

*their
complexion*

that has had copulation with the English, has Brought forth into the world as fine Children as one wou'd Desire to behold,—streight Lim'd, Lively active, and Indeed fair exceeds the true born Indians in all things, these are most an End¹ Light hair'd, and will Venture to say without any Disgrace to == that they are pretty Numerious,—for the Generality of the true born Indians, men and women, has Long black hair without cur'l, course and strong, hair which will Reach to their Knees, which hangs in a Careless manner, only the women, who ties itt in Knots & platts itt in Different form's, to ador'n themselves with, they being a Very ambitious sort of people,—the women are for the most part short and thick, and not so Lively as the men when they are turn'd 20 Years; But very frisky when Young &c.— the young women are well shap'd Both men & women are for the most part round Visag'd with their nose flatt between the Eyes not unlike a negro, But tollerable otherways, splaw foot and Very small hands and fingers, their Eyes Large and Grey yet Lively and Sparkling very Bewitchen when Young, high forehead, white teeth, thick blubber Lip'd and mouth tollerable Large some, and some intollerable Large, Light Eye Lashes and small, their cheeks and chin well proportion'd, in the whole hansomely featur'd the woman more then the men,—they are given Very much to turning their toes

¹ J. O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* . . . (London, 1865), II, 562, " MOST-AN-END. Continually; perpetually; mostly; generally . . . *Most in deal* is a similar phrase . . .".

*their way
of washing*

in and heels out, which is occasion'd by the many month's they wear snow shoes,—the Elderly women are very Carefull in seeing the young ones Comb and Clean their hair, the girls Espetialy being given more to Vermin than the Boy's; the method when they wash their hand or face is,—they take a Little oyl or fatt, and Rub over their face and with their Long nails of their fingers, they Scratch to Lossing the Dirt, then wipe itt of with their garment, the men has Beards if they wou'd Let itt grow, but they have itt pulld. out by the root's, as Likewise the hair in all other other parts, (Excep't their Eye Lids, Lashes, & hair of the head, they Destroys.) this is Chiefly the womens work, to perform, asking the Reason for so Doing, they made answer that in hard travelling they chaft much, therefore pulld. itt out as before mention'd,—its very rare to see a man wear the hair of his head at full Length, some Clipping itt short, others Cutting only one side short and Leaving the other side Long, some half way their forehead Just as the fancy Leads them.

Ludness

They may be Reckon'd a crafty sort of people, cheating, Stealing, and Lying they glory in and Lud' from their cradle, being prone to all manner of Vices;— Maidens are Very rare to be found at 13 or 14 Years, and I believe m'y Safely say none at 15 Years, fine Ladies &c.

*seashore
Ind's
starvd.*

These Natives are ofte'n starv'd and in Want of food, Especially in the winter season that Keeps by the Sea

side, but upland Indians are Seldom put to these shifts,—having plentier of Beast of all sortts, then what is to be Gott by the sea shore,—I have oft'n observ'd these Natives need not, or wou'd not be in want of provender, if they wou'd be at the pains to cure itt, or all the meat they Kill which they do not, Curing a small Quantity only for to Serve them for the presant by Drying itt in the smoak then pounding itt small, which they Style (Ruhiggan) as hereafter mention'd &c.—

I have found frequently Indians to Kill some scores *Extrava-*
of Deer, and take only the tongues or heads, and Let the *gancys*
body or carcass go a Drift with the tide, therefore I
think itt's no wonder that godalmighty shou'd fix his
Judgemen't upon these Vile Reaches, and occation their
being starvd. and in want of food, when they make such
havock of what the Lord sent them plenty of,—their
ignorance may perhap's Justifie them something:

We have frequent Instances among our own Country,
men of the nature not to proceed in any one thing with
good words, but will with bad words or corection, and
other's it's their nature to proceed with good words & no
corection.—so I find good usage and civility agrees well
with these Natives,—if they grow obstobilious, a Little
correction, then sweatning makes them pliant.—they
are Cunning and sly to the Last Degree, the more you *Covetioness*
give, the more they Crave,—the generality of them are
Loth to part with any thing they have, if at any time they
give they Expec't Double Satisfaction;—Covetioness I

think is a sad property to man or woman, such person Can never be Eassy but unhappy all they Day's of their Life,—what make's Rich misers unhappy, why! their Covetioness and mammon! they gready in getting all the Riches they Can and then a trouble to them for fear itt shou'd slip out of their sight. Example of one I knew, who made a feast on a perticular Day for his freinds, the feast being over and the Bill Brought. before him, all Charges pay'd, Came to about 20 shilling's,— he Clap's his hands and Blesses himself that he shou'd heave so much hard gott'n money away, after such a profus'd Extravagant manner,—Well, this greivd. the generious free harted soul so much that he did not Eat any meat for 12 month's afterwards, Notwithstanding worth some thousands pounds;—Therefore see what an uncomfatale Companion Covetioness is.

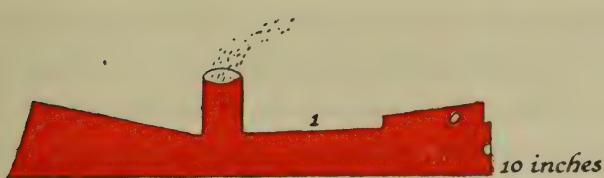
*the Right
& titles
to the
Callimt.*

They argue with Discretion Espetially when they are seated with the great Callimut before them, being Chiefly the Cap't. who is for the most part an ancient man; this Callimut (alias wus ka che) is one of their I'dols, few being admitted in a meeting but those that has a Lawfull right and title to a callimut, their Nature of itt is this;

A Captn. or cheif comes with a gang of Indians, in this gang they Divide they Divide themselves into Severall tents or hutts, where their is an ancient man, belonging to Each family, who is officers under the Cheif (alias) Uka maw, when their tent is made the

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 83

Captn. or Cheif, makes his Enterance with a Cheif officer, by an invitation into the fort, where he is presented with a great many fine thing's and Drest as he



1 : the Bowl, 10 inches; 2 : the Stem or Callimot 6 foot—
3 Rib'n or Gartg. tied Each end & midle flyg. Loose.

imagin's Like a fine man,—but in my thoughts more
Like amerianderer,¹—and when they have satt and
Smoak't a pipe for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, the Spirit then puts itt in

¹ A merry-andrew, i.e., a buffoon, a clown.

their head to Speak,—being a common custom if father or son meets if been Seperate but one month, not to Speak for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, then Break silence with some out of the way Jock that comes into their head.¹ But to proceed, when they have smoak'd & Gave Information, of the Strength of his Little army, or Gang of Indians, he then Departs well Satisfied to his Subjects or fellow Sufferer's, and Divides Equally abt. 2 inches of tobacco and a pipe to Each, with some Liquor tell next morning —then the Ukemau' sends his Leuitt. to Each tent to geather his taxes or a presant for the Cheif of the fort,— which is commonly a Beaver skin, or to the Value in other furs a man, when they have Done they give notice they want to come into the fort to smoak, in the Callimutt &c. when the Ukemau enter's with the ancients after him, and a young man to Each who Carry's the callimutt (and itts to be observ'd the women never smoak's out of these callimutts)—when they have enter'd the cheif is complimented with a chair, where he plasses himself by the factor, the rest sitting upon their Brich round the table, where the Callimutts of Different makes shapes and Couller's, are Laid upon a Clean skin upon a table in the midle of the Roome,—in this manner they sitt Very Demur'r, for some time, not speak a word, tell the Ukemau, Break's Silence,—he then takes one pipe or Callimutt and presents itt to the factor, who Lights itt, having a Young man to hold itt as before mention'd,—

¹ After this word there is a three-quarter-page space in the manuscript.

some of them being 4: 5: and 6 foot Long,—when Light the factor takes the Callimutt by the midle, and points the small End first to the sun's Rising, then to the highth or midle of the Day, then at the suns setting, then to the Ground, and with a round turn presents itt again to the Leader, when they all and Everyone cry ho! (which signifies thanks) the Cheif takes 4 or 5 whiffs, according to their country, then the young man hands itt all round they taking the same whiffs Each, tell the pipe is Exhausted, they then Deliever itt again to the factor, who is to turn it as before observ'd according to their country three or four times round his head, by the midle of the callimutt, then Lay itt Downe upon the skin, when the whole Assembly makes the Room Ring with an Ecco of thanks,—so by Each callimutt or pipe tell all is spent, when the Ukemaw makes a Speech to the factor the Subject of which is,

“ You told me Last year to bring many Indians, you
“ See I have not Lyd. here is a great many young men
“ come with me, use them Kindly! use them Kindly *their subject to to the factor*
“ I say! give them good goods, give them good Goods
“ I say!—we Livd. hard Last winter and in want. the
“ powder being short measure and bad, I say!—tell
“ your Servants to fill the measure and not to put their
“ finger's within the Brim, take pity of us, take pity of
“ us, I say!—we come a Long way to See you, the
“ french sends for us but we will not here, we Love the

86 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

“ English, give us good (brazl. tobacco)¹ black tobacco,
“ moist & hard twisted, Let us see itt before op’n’d,—
“ take pity of us, take pity of us I say!—the Guns are
“ bad, Let us trade Light guns small in the hand, and
“ well shap’d, with Locks that will not freeze in the
“ winter, and Red gun casses, (for if a gun is bad,
“ a fine case oft’n putt’s it of, being great admirers
“ of Differt. Colour’s)—Let the young men have Roll
“ tobacco² cheap, Ketles thick high for the shape,
“ and size, strong Ears, and the Baile to Lap Just
“ upon the side,—Give us Good measure, in cloth,—
“ Let us see the old measures, Do you mind me!,
“ the young men Loves you by comming to see you,
“ take pity, take pity I say!—and give them good,

¹ Brazil tobacco was first sent out to James Bay by the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1685. See H[udson’s] B[ay Company] S[eries], Vol. XI, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson (eds.), *Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c Begins 29th May, 1680 Ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1948, and London, The Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1948), p. 142, Governor and Committee to Henry Sergeant, May 22, 1685, “We are sorry the Tobacco, we last sent you, proves so bad, we have made many yeares tryall of Engelish Tobacco by severall persons, & whiles we have Traded, we have had yearly complaints thereof. We have made search, what Tobacco the French vends to the Indians, which you doe so much extoll, and have this yeare bought the like (vizt.) Brazeel Tobacco, of which we have sent for each Factorey, a good Quantety, that if approved of we are resolved in the future to suppley you with the like, as you have occasion : But be careful to sell them, not halfe the Quantety of this, for it cost us treble the price.” Ibid., p. 180, Governor and Committee to John Bridgar, London, May 20, 1686, “Our Tobacco is also this yeare the best Brazeel, that which the Indians are so much bewitched with, & all other goods accordingly, so that there can be no Deficiency on our parts towards alluring a great trade, & what ever we shall want for a new yeares suppley write us expressly & we will endeavor to please you both in Quality & Quantety.”

² See *The Beaver* (Winnipeg, Hudson’s Bay Company), March, 1944, M. Barbeau and C. Wilson, “Tobacco for the Fur Trade”, pp. 36–9.

" they Love to Dress and be fine, do you understand
" me!—"

here he Leaves of and they all say ho! But while he is making this speech Every one Else is silent Ex'cept the factor, who now and then pronounces U'h, or ha'oko which signifies Very well,: when the factor answer's them with satisfaction when they Return thank's, and this is Commonly their Harrange, which is Repeated several times, over;—then another Elderly man break's silence after two or three force sighs.—

" O'h', itt's very hard, itt's very hard; (sham cry)
" the Earchithin-nues came and Kill'd severall of our
" Country men wherefore I will go to warr;—will you
" go with me, (meaning his fellow sufferers.) we do not
" want to Kill them but they are alway's Comming
" against us What do yo say to itt." speaking to the
factor,—who perswades them from itt as much as
possible, and Desires them to make peace with those
Natives, But they Seldom Regard Such advice, therefore
to warr they go the following year, Killing men, but
cheifly women and Childn. tak'n the oppurtunity when
men are out a hunting not having the heart to face
them, &c. (as to the Earchitinues p.) But to
proceed the ukamaw, Exhorts his Subjects or more
properly his fellow sufferer's to trade quiet and not to be
obstrobilious,—if any freind or Relation is Dead they all
sett up an howling for about a minuet then all is over,

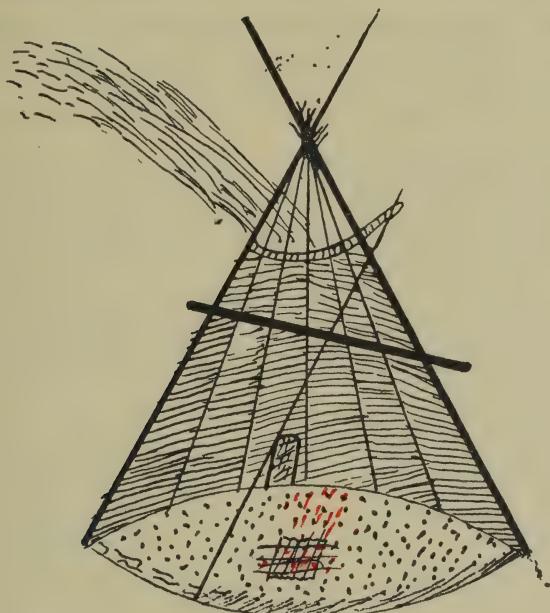
without Ever a tear. they then make their presant,—when the Ukamaw is Deducted to see the goods, when Satisfied with this glorious Veiw of fine pleasing commodity's they then Depart and trade: when trade is over and they are Ready to be gone, the Ukamaw, after one hour's Consideration comes out of his tent, and stands at the tent Door, Leaning upon a stick if antient if not with his hands by his side, when he begins this small Speech with a Laudable Voice to all his gang of Indians.

“ Do not Quarrell or Leave one another, Let the “ young men hunt as they go, tell they come to Such “ a place, their stay tell all comes and I will make a “ feast,”—when they all Say very well, when this feast is over, the Cheif then again tell's them.

“ I shall be the following year at the same English “ settlement having Been well us'd, meet me at such a “ place in the Spring and Bring the Rest of your “ country men with you, in order to approach to the “ said Settlement:”—this is the Cheifest Subjects of their harange tho they talk a great Deal more, of Little signification;

These Natives has no wodden or fine brick housses, nor yet any stone walls, or any other sort of enclosure, Living all in skin tents when with their family's,—But the Inds. travels or approach to the English Setlements, they make a sort of hutt, or Stick up a few branches of the trees to windward, of them.—others Sticking up their

padles, and a peice of Ryne round to Keep the wind of,— poor comfort Indians has in the winter when travel, by themselves, in taking up their Nights Lodging under a stump or tree, with only their common Garments to cover them.



the nature of a skin tent

These tents are made of Drest Deer skins, or Drest moose skins, which is commonly ten skins, in tent, a moderate tent, will hold 12 or 14 Indians old and young, they are Very cold Living in the winter, and subject Very much to smoaking, w'ch the Natives does not much mind, sitting on the ground, wherefore the smoak assending does not Effect their Eyes much, tho Very

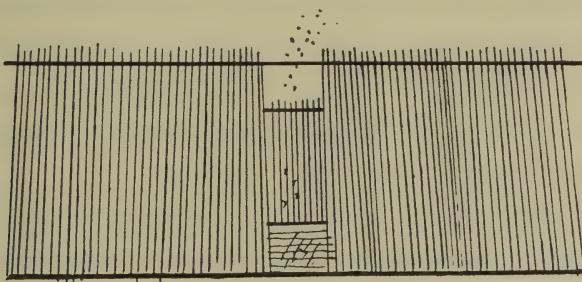
troublesome to the English men, they not being us'd to such Low seats as the ground,—itt's unknown what hardship's, men must Endure in these parts, to see Isceles of Ice & frozt, hanging over mens heads as they Lye in bed,—from the mouth to the top of the tent will hang Ice in a great Quantity, in one nights time, occation'd by their breath, and their Blanketts are so thick of frozt itt takes them one hour Every morning to thaw and Dry Such.

Log tents

Log tents¹ or huts are us'd in these parts by the English only, these they make in Length and weddth

¹ Cf. Clerk of the *California, Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, pp. 135–7, September, 1746, “These [log] Tents are built by putting a Pole, fourteen or sixteen Feet long, between two Trees, and as high as it is intended the Tent should be, ten or twelve Feet; then leaning against this Pole on both Sides, leaving only three Feet on the South Side, for a Door Way, large Logs of Wood unbarked, their Tops meeting above the Pole; and those on one Side over-shooting the other. At Bottom these Logs are extended the Width they intend the Tent, the shape of the Tent resembling the Eves of a House; and the Ends are also of the same Kind of Logs as the Sides; the Parting between the Logs being filled with Moss, and daubed over with a Mixture of the Soil and Water. The Heigh' of the Door is four Feet and a Half, and above that, from the Logs, to Right and Left, there is a Cross-Piece, and another near the Top, upon which Logs are laid, so to fill up the Vacancy which there is above, between the Logs, to Right and Left of the Door; but the Cross-Pieces causing these Logs to lie hollow, so as not to touch the Ridge-Pole, and as many Logs on the opposite Side the Tent being also hollow, from the Ridge-Pole, by a Cross-Piece near the Top, these Logs do not meet, but leave an Opening, which answers the Purpose of a Chimney; and is also the only Conveyance by which they have any Light. Under this Opening, within Side the Tent, they form the Hearth of Earth, about three Feet square, and one high, which they build round with Logs to prevent the Earth moulderling or falling away. At about four Feet from each End of the Tent they place across the Tent, Seat high, a large square Log; and from these Logs there is another passes Endways on that Side the Tent, opposite to the Door. The Use of placing these Logs so, is for Seats round the Fire, and the End Logs also keep in the Bed-Cloaths; for in that Space of Time, Wet, between those Logs and the Ends

according to the Quantity of men that is to Live in them,—the Logs are round Leaning one against another, with a Rig pole in the Midle, and sett close togeather taking mawse or mudd to fill up the seams,—the fire place being opposite the Door, in the midle one side of the tent,—one of these tents 14 foot Long 7 foot wide 3 [sic] foot high will conveniently stove 14 men, they are



not so subject to smoak as the skin tents, and Reckon'd much warmer, I think its much the natives, never build any they being sensible of the Difference in warmt'h, &c.

These Natives are not Very numerous considering the Vast track of Land, they have to Range in, we having Seldom comming Yearly to the head factory to trade more than 250 cannoes, one Year with another, which Contains 550 Inds. bringing in some cannoes three Indians, besides their Goods, so that I compute

natives but Scarce
are the Beds put, two at each End, each Bed holding two, they lying with their Heads to the Sides of the Tent, and Feet inwards. The Beds are not laid on the Ground, but they gather a Quantity of small Pine-Tops, which is laid first, and so raise the Bed about a Foot or more from the Ground. The Log which runs between the two Logs and Sideways, marks out a Place behind it for their Chests, their Kettles, &c." See p 214, n. 2.

their is comes Yearly to all the English settlements in these parts, or belonging to the Hudsons Bay company a'bout 1200 Indians;—being nigh as many comes to the head fort of trade as Goes to all the other Settlements.

*false
Information*

The worst property that attends these Natives is their false information, for if you put a Question to them, as I have Done oft'n, they will answer to what I Desir'd, at the same time neither her'd see, or new any thing of the matter, so by severall other casses, by which they are not to be Really'd on unless all points upon the same Subject, as the proverb is, what all say's is true, but I found the Contrary by these Natives.

*Quarrelling
in Liquor*

These Natives are given, very much to Quarrellg. when in Liquor having Known two Brothers when in Liquor to Quarrell after such a manner, that they have Bitt one anothr. nose, Ears, and finger's off, Biting being common with them when in Liquor, and no poizon so Venemous as their teeth;—wheresomever they Grip. they are a cowardly people,—I have frequent seen one, when in Liquor or otherwise, Beeting another which has Laid with his head downe as quiet as a Lam'b, and not had the heart to rise in his own Defence,—they also are Very Sulky and sullen, and if at any time one has a Resentment against another, they never show itt, tell the Spiritious Liquor's work's in their Brains, then they Speak their mind freely.

*their
fondness to
Chldn.*

These Natives are Very Loving and fond of their Children, Never I think seen any parent or Relation

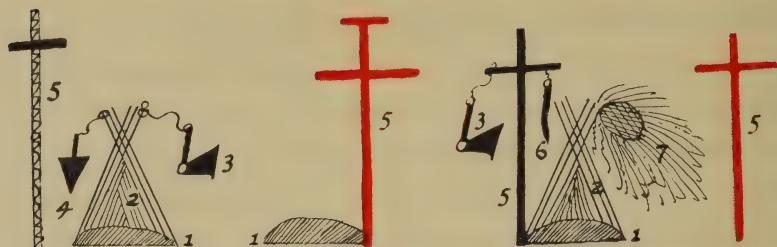
strike a child in anger all the time I have been here, or in these parts, beleiving itt may be the Same all over America, Observing De'la,sale¹ and Some others mentions the same, &c.—and as to heaving water at them when angry, I have seen done frequent, the fondness to their chldn. is not with them as in England, as itt's too frequent the Entire Ruing to chldn. and Greif to parents, when its too Late to correct them.—But it's to be Regarded these son's or Daughters never Leaves their parents, tell they gett married, then the youngest son or son in Law mentains their parents as Long as they Live.

If one of a family Dies their nearest freind or Ralations Burries them Very oft'n with most of their Effects when Done is;—

They put a pile of wood Like unto a faggott, round the graves, then they make an offering, putting a painted Stick up, some with a cross hanging a hatchet, Bayonett, or Ice Chissel, or what Else they have on the top, with the sculp of their Enemies, when they go to warr, which no Indians whatsoever takes away—it's their common Custom to give all away, to other Indians, Even so much as the wear and appearal upon their backs, which is oft'n the occation of their being greatly in Debt to the English,

¹ L. Hennepin, *A Continuation of the New Discovery of a Vast Country in America . . . Giving an Account of the Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the Mines of St. Barbe &c. . . .* (London, 1699), pp. 120–21, “The Children shew but small Respect to their Parents: Sometimes they will beat them without being chastised for it; for they think Correction would intimidate them, and make them bad Souldiers.”

*their way
of Buriall*



(1) The Graves, (2) the piles, round the Graves (3) Hatchets (4) a Bayonet, (5) painted sticks, (6) an Ice Chissel, (7) the Sculp, or the skin of the head, with the hair of an Ehuskemaw.

When they have payd. the Dead these formallities, they then preapre themselves a bag or (mewitt) which contains all the Rarity's of feathers &c.—they can procure,—this they carry upon their backs, when they go from the tent or Dwellings, in Rememberance of their freind or Relation that Died;—if wife or child, they Keep this bag tell they gett another wife or child, then put itt aside and think no more of the Dead. Which happen's Sometimes not above a month or two before their seeming Greif is over,—the women S'ldom usses these formality's of the bag.—they also after a freind or Relation's Death for some time before they Drink brandy or other Liquors, heave or Squirt a Little into the fire wch. signifies giving the Dead some,—and they also imagine they shall Live Long after the Dead by so doing, also severall other Reasons they for so doing, they then proceed to Drinking.

Jelioussy

Jelioussey that—thing that Ranges so much in all

parts of the world, is Likewise very much amongst these Natives, and will be reveng'd of their antagonist some time or another, and oft'n will be the Death of such that has offended them, as I have Known both English and french by these offences,—a sample of which—the french had formerly a setlemt. up — River where the Natives (women) was forc'd into the fort against their will which aggravated them to that Degree, that they fixd. upon Revenge,—they therefore unperceivd. informd. their husbands to be Ready upon a Signal they wou'd make, accordingly the women took an opportunity to wett all the french fuzes with their 'urin'e, and then gave the Signal, when their husbands Gott in under cover of the Night, and put their Enemies to the rout, when the french run to their arm's and found how they was betrayd, and was Kill'd for their prefidiousness, being 8 in Number,—some of which Indians are now alive and has told me the same by word of mouth,— Notwithstanding their Jeliousy they will take wives, put them of, and take them or other's again at their pleasure, which has made me I'magine, or observe was their such methods in Eur'ope what must be Expected,—I have wonder'd oft'n they have not more misunderstandings than what they have,—I have Known some to have 6 or 7 wives at a time which in process of time procure's them a Good round family the women being good Breeder's, and the Grey mair is the best horse most an End with them as well as other Nations that is more polite.

*the french
Betrayd.
8 french
Kill'd.
their many
wives &
Le. familys*

*their
Constitution*

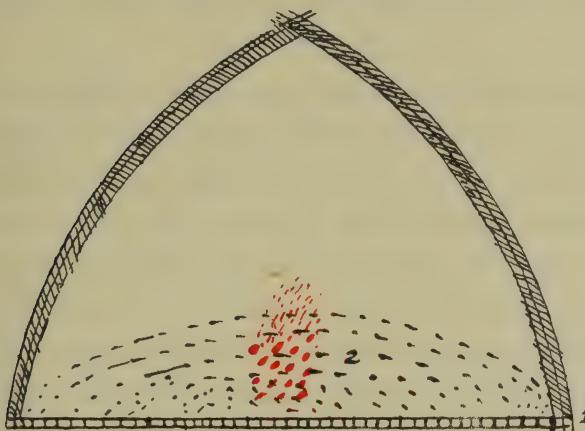
medicines

*their
methods of
cure*

The Natives in these parts are of an incrediable strong constitution both men and women,—I have Known some that has had Legs mortified when gone away from the fort, to go in Land, when the Surgeon has been of that opinion that he has been past Recovery, and Next year has come Downe perfectly well, tho' a Greater Scar', then a person of greater skill in Surgery woud have had, if been at the Curing of itt. they frequently cutt their own fingers of and make a good Cure.—I Never Coud be informd. of more then 2 Remedies they have for any wound, which is, water and turpentine, they washing the wound Clean and applying this Bolsome, by which they most and End Recover, they Likewise use fatt sometimes, tho' Nature is Very favourable to them;—and as for any Sickness or any Distemper Inwardly, they have no other Remedy for such then Sweeting itt off. the Method of which is this.—

They make a Little hutt or tent, about four foot high and about 6 foot over,—which Done, they take as many Coats or skin's, as they can procure, and Cover itt up close, Leaving a small Vacancy to go in att,—they then take about 20 Large stones, and heet them hott in the fire, in another tent, when hott, they put them into their hutt or wetting house, as they Explain itt. (Mu tu tu san a'ke,) then they go in Naked as they were born, their they sitt Like monkey's upon their Brich, tell they are in a perdigious sweet,—and when they think

they have swetted Suffitiently, they then come out, and Run as they are in Such a heat into the River if Summer, if Winter they wash themselves with Snow, by Which I never Knew itt did them Either good or harm;—Such methods with Some Europians wou'd be prest. Death,



(1) A Sweeting house (2) Red hott stones out of another tent.

But these Natives are of such a Strong constitution as before mentiond that nought can hurt them.

I have Known Bleeding to be an Effectual Remedy for Indians for any internal Distemper, they Bledding themselves frequently, not with a Launcit, nor yet in the arm,—but on the back of the hand; they first tye above the Rist pretty hard, they then with the other hand Rise skin upon the back of the opposite hand, then take an awle & Run thro under the Vein, when Done they then take a Sharpe pointed Knife and make an Orrifice pretty

*their
method of
Bledd'g.*

Large, in the Vein up and Downe, by which they will take severall Ounces of Blood, when they think they have tak'n anoug'h to do them good, they then Loose the string above the Rist, wash the part and tie itt up, which in 24 hours will be well,—I never heard of any one that Losst their arm, or that came to any hurt by so doing.

*methods of
the female
Sex*

The women has a way you may Know their greif, their sex are troubled with, which is to Let their hair hang Loose and in a careless manner about their face, and at Such a time they Eat, and Drink with no other Indian's, But has a Dish or platter to themselves, Neither does their husbands Cohabit with them at such a time &c.

Conjuring

The men pretends to be great Conjurer's, tho' Know nothing of any such artifice, and all I cou'd make of itt, is Very Eronious and purely Design'd to frigh'n the women and Children,—I think I never was so full of mirth, then once in Seeing their Conjuring & Dancing, when in Liquor,—they'l Dance hand in hand round a fire when presantly one comes up side way's, &¹ blow's another Downe with his breath, who falls Like a Dead man, so by them all, he then Blow's in their Ear's, and other parts which brings them to Life againe, their Actions being Very Umersome,—if an Indians is sick or out of order, they go to singing and conjuring which they have a notion will make them well,—they have also a Conceited notion, some things the Sick Keep's is the

¹ A blank page follows this word.

occation of their Sickness, which if put a side cures them; this is when their Conjuring won't take Effec't, they pretend to Show a hundred other tricks, which is Really not worth the observing.

Conceit has great Effect upon these natives, some having Died with such,—I have Known an Indian when in Liquor say, he wou'd be the Death of Such and Such an Indian, By which Such Indian has took itt to heart and Died,—I'magining such Indians had itt in their power to put them out of the world at their pleasure;—I take such to proceed from weakness they being Very timerious and fearfull.

I have known Severall family's of Indians put into Bodyly fear, by only the shadow of a tree, an observation of which in 1733:¹ their was Severall family's of Indian's to the Eastward of the fort, a hunting in the Summer, and Killd. a pretty many Deer, so one Day an Indian went from his tent to Kill more, But to his Surprize abou't $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from his tent, he Imagin'd he see a *in panick* parcill of wood Runners, or french Indians, with gun's *fear* upon their shoulder's a comming towards him, when

¹ B. 239/a/15, York Factory Journal (Thomas Macklish, chief), July 20, 1733, "...this Evening 3 home Indian men, and 2 boyes, came from the Southwd. haveing Left their wives and children about 30 miles from hence, one of the said Indian men as he was in the woods a hunting, thought he Sawe severall Strange Indians, whom he took for Enemys, upon which he Came to his Tent, and they all Immediately Disperst themselves, att the sametime itt is our opinion, Likewise of Severall home Indians, that he saw Nothing but some Young Pine Trees, in a Plaine which often appears Like men, in thick hazey weather, however to Prevent our being Surprizd. we orderd. every man to beatt his Quarters, and Shall Continue so, Until we are Confirm'd. as to the truth of this Alarm."

*Conceit
the Death
of them*

100 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

at the same time itt was some perticular shap'd trees that mov'd with the wind, too and again;—But howsomever, being put into a panick fear by this Supos'd Enemy, he Return's to his tent, and put all the Indians that tended there into a Great Consternation,—when men run one way, women and Children Different way's, imagining a formadable Enemy was persuing them,—the Conceit of which was the Death of 3 or 4 Indians, one wicked woman Kill'd 2 of her own Children and wou'd have been the Death of another, had not an another Indian hinderd. her wicked Intention's—a man that had a family Died soon afterwards, this Seldom happ'ns but when they have plenty of Provision's.

*Starvd.
Inds.*

I Never knew Indians in this part to Eat raw meet, but in case of Necessity, then they do not scruple to Eat one another, to their Greif, or at Least as I'imagine, having Knowne some family's that has Kill'd their Children for food,—Especially one family who was Very much in want of provisions, and being a great way of from the English fort, cou'd gett no Suply, (as hungar will Enduce any man to do an unhuman action.) so they made a Dismal Slaughter of four poor Children and Eat the best part of them, which Brought them to the English setlement, in a sorryfull Condition, and of a wild Aspec't, Neither do they come to their Senses and natural way of Living for nigh 3 weeks afterwards,—after such a misfortune when they have Recovd. their right Senses, they Commonly take other Indian's Children and bring

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 101

them up as their own; in Rememberance of the unfortunate Chldn. they mascr'd,—their being starv'd and in hungar is oft'n occationed by the Quiquakatches,¹ as here after mention'd;

The generallity of these natives has some Regard in *their not maryng too nigh a Knind* not maryng too nigh a Kind, tho' some few I have Known, has not Stood upon these formality's having took their own Daughters to Wife,—and one man to have two Sister's is Como'n, tho' not so odious and Brutish in my opinion as the former;

When a Young man has a mind for a wife, they do not *of maryng* make Long tedious Ceremony's, nor yet use much formality's the method is this Vizt.—the man goes out of his tent, to the woman's tent door, where he Looks in and Lays before her as much Cloth as will make her a smock, Sleeves, and Stockings, no words Spoke, he then Return's to his own tent, and waits for the womans Comming,—in the mean time, if the woman takes this Cloth up the match is made, that she will be his wife, when she gett's up and goes and Sitts by him in his tent; as man and wife and all is over; But if the woman [refuses] to take the Cloth, some one in the tent Carry's itt and Lay's itt by the man, which Denotes she will not be his wife, when he Looks out for another and perhap's may Light of ten Disappointments, before he getts one &c.

They Live in tents as before observ'd and for their *their hard Lying* Bedding the Cold ground winter and Sumr. with some

¹ Wolverenes, see p. 141.

twigs of spruce trees under them, and a method they have when severall family's is togeather in one tent is they Lye man to man and woman to women, as one man and [wife] Sitts downe, the next wife and husband, next husband and Wife, so if there was 20 family's one man's wife and another womens husband never sitt's togeather, they much the Nature of a sett of people Call'd Jippseys in a Bar'n (i.e.) the Children Lyes between Each womn. if Girls, if Boy's between the men &c.

*floats of
wood*

When they are oblig'd to cross Rivers or Creeks and no cannoes, by them at that time, they oft'n make floats of wood, by falling severall trees, and tying them togeather with the bark of willow, interwoven with the Branches of the tree, which Carry's them safe over such Rivers &c. or will go downe River's on Such floats some miles, But Dangerous when they come to any Great falls &c.

*Disfiguring
themselves*

They have severall mark's upon their bodies, face and hands, Which they do by pricking the skin with a Needle in the shap'e and for'm they Design, tell the Blood Comes, they then take some gun powder, or Coal beat fine, Wich they Lay on Rubbing itt for a while tell the bleeding is over, w'ich stands good and never washes out.

*never out
of their
ways*

The Natives are Seldom at a Loss in their travelling, no part being Difficult for them to find, tho never was in some parts of their Country in their Lives,—yet will steer by the sun, or, moon,—or by notching the Bark's

of the trees to see which side is thickest; w'ch is always the So. or warm side, thro woods or thickets Let itt be never so bad weather, itt's also to be observ'd that Side of the trees which is Expos'd to the N. and N.N.Wt. winds, has Very few Branches upon them to what is on the opposite side, this I alway's observ'd when I travel'd in these parts, and Cou'd See no Sun &c.

They Live to a Very great age¹ Both men and Women, *their great age* Notwithstanding their Excessive Drinking, Which occasions miscarriagges frequently,—I have Known women to Bear Chldn. at nigh 70:—their memories are sound at 100 Years, not forgetting transactions for many Years past, tho they plead ignorant if you tell them you gave them such a thing at such a time, their answer being that they do not Remember itt, But if at any time they give they will Remember such at the first mentioning;—this is their nature,—they are Regardless of a good Deed Done them, but will Remember or Keep in their mind a bad Deed done them as Long as they Live:—I think as others has, itts a pitty they was allow'd to taste of that Bewitching spirit calld. Brandy, or any other Spiritious Liquor's,—which has been the Ruing of a Great many Indians, and the Cheif Cause of their Ludness and bad way's they are now given to, their being some few that Drinks none—what may be Calld. Virtuous women,—but now

¹ See *H.B.S.*, XI, xxxii n.

their is no method Can be taken to break them from itt, without the Entire Ruing of the small fur trade in these parts.

*Child
Bar'g.*

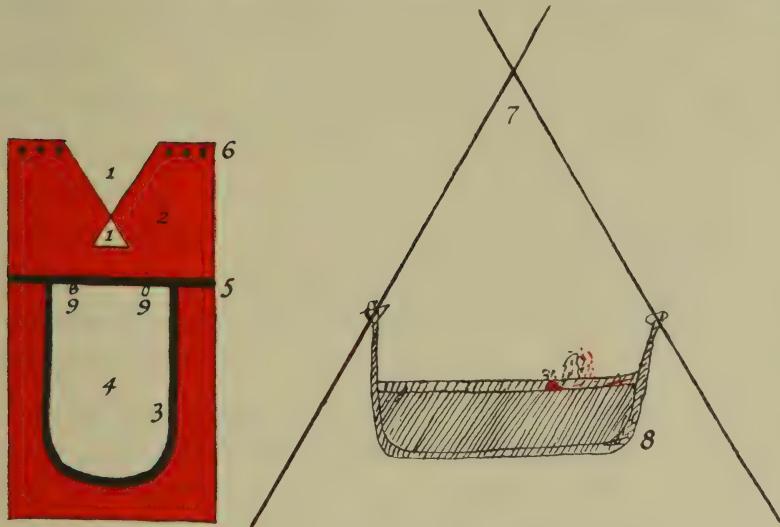
The women in these parts bears children very soon or young of age, having Known some to have three Children by their 20th year, and others to be Ripe at 13 Years foreward Lasses!—It's to be observd. for the Generality these women has a Child but once in three Years, or by that time the first Child Can walk,—then their husband ar so good a mark's man, as not to fail of providing them with another or two,—they oft'n having two at a Birth,—their not having or Bearing Children Every Year as some Europians does, is on the account of their Suckling all their own children, being obligd. to Carry them on their backs in moving from place to place over the Country, therefore are not able to bring more then one up at a time.

twins
*their
surprizing
Constitutn.*

Their Robust nature and Strong Constitution is Very surprizing having seen some women that has been Brought to bed upon the Bare ground, with the Heav'ns for a Canope', and in an hour afterwards has took the Child upon their back's, and has gone to the woods two Long miles, Brought a Stout Load of wood, which wou'd make a stout man to flinch, and be nothing atall Consern'd or Disconsolate about itt, I can not say but in Some parts of England, Necessity obliges the Women to use almost the same methods,—therefore I think itt's only pride an ambition, that some takes in Keeping their

Bed a full month, and putting a poor C—'n to Charge and Expence for aught.

They have no Notion of cradles for children as the English has, but use other methods, which seem's much



(1) holes cutt out (2) the back board (3) the hoop (4) where the Child is tyed (5) a Cross peice to where the string's fastnd. to, carryd. by (9) (6) holes for finery (7) 2 tent poles where a Child is fastnd. to, in a skin (8).

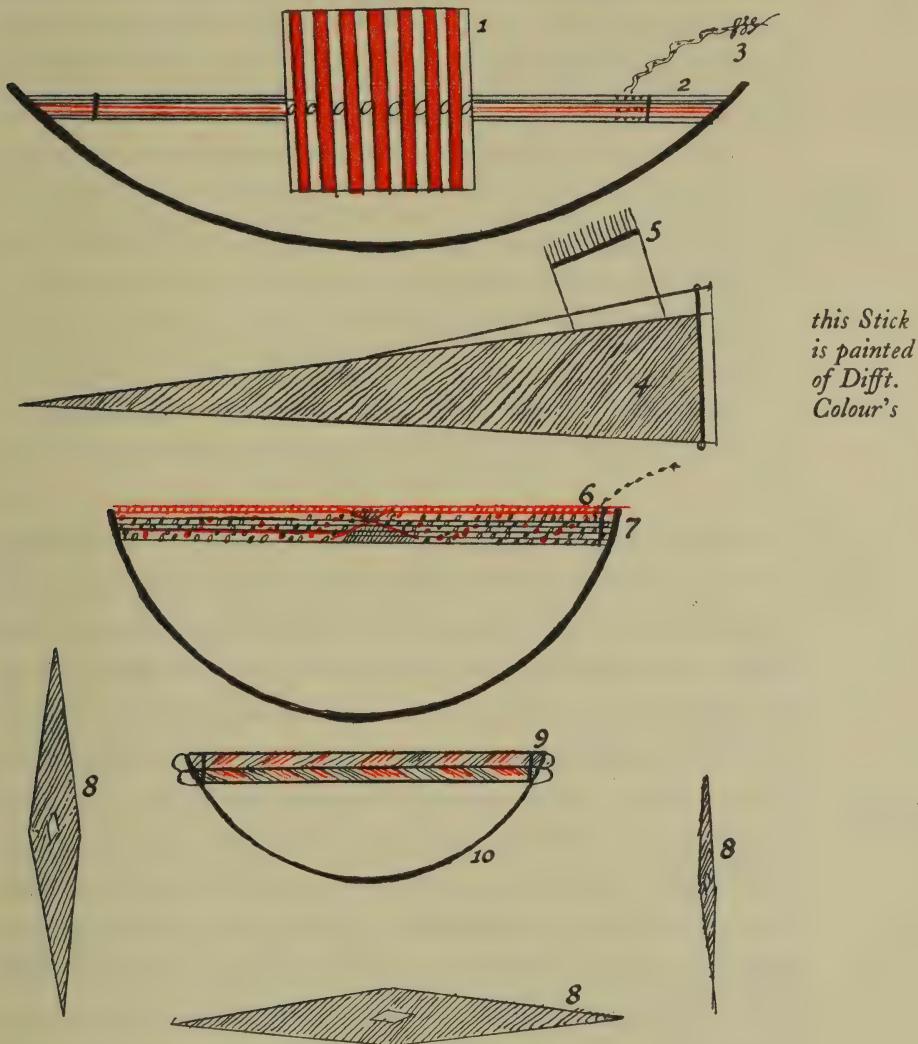
better, they make a board of about 3 foot in Length and abt. 19 inches wide,—one $\frac{3}{4}$ inch Substance, which they cutt out of a Large tree with only a Hatchet and crooked Knife, sowing a hoop round from the Cross peice of abt. 3 inches wide, and withing an inch of the Edge of the board, wherein they tie the Child with their back to the board, using Cloth and Rabbit skins for clothing, and for clouts, they use white mawse, twice a

*of their
Cradles or
back boards*

Day trying Drying itt well before the fire, or putt a Burning Coal into the mawse which Dry's itt as well,— which is an Excellent thing Keeping the Child Constantly Dry, the soft mawse sucking all the Damp up,—Not being at the trouble and Charge other Nations are at, in Washing, Drying and Bying Cloth for clouts, and think itt wou'd be a Very good Saving method, for the poor folk's in our own Nation,—A Nother method they have to put children to Sleep, wch. is,—they take a skin and by Each End tye itt to two tent poles, (or in a tent) with a peice of string, wherein they put the Child with as many warm Cloths as they can procure, and Keep swinging itt backwards and forewards, 'till the Child is a Sleep, which skin is in the fashion of a hamock; As soon as the Child is born, they wash itt in Lu'ck warm water, put it in a Rabbit skin and tie itt in a cradle or back board as aforemention'd,—they Learn them to walk very soon, at 3 Years old. they will Run about strong,—I have wonder'd oft'n their is not more Infants Kill'd, then what is, seeing them when Drunk, tumble about and the Child in their arm's, Crying, and squaling, half starvd. with hungar; and others has sett their Children Down against a stone, or tree, and not come anigh itt for some hour's, the Liquor being infus'd in her Brain, has Laid all thoughts of the young Infant aside; they being Given more to Drinking then the men, Considering such is odious and not Becoming their Sex &c.

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 107

The Cheifest Instruments for making Belts, Carters or any finery, or as they styl it (rumahiggan) are these.



(1) Is a peice of Berch Rhyne Cutt square, and (2) is the worsted or Strings, Each of which string goes thro, a hole, as

also the Vacant places, they moving the Rhyne up and down, at the same time passing a string thro Each time, Leaving a bead on Each Edge, which makes Very strong work, these are for powder horns &c. (3) is a Willow which the worsted is tied to at Each end (4) is a board of 1 inch Substance which tapers to a point to stick in the Ground of abt. 4 foot Long, and split in the midle $\frac{1}{2}$ way, wherein they put a peice of Deer skin (5) that is cutt into Strips for to string beads on &c. (6) is a belt which is 6 strings of Leather, cutt small and fastn'd to a Willow (7) at Each End, taking a string of beads, or string the beads, one by one, of Different sorts, by which turning the string (Deer's sinnewes for Belts) over and undr. on each Edge, Keeps all fast, these Belts are of Differt. shapes and make (8) is Needles made of bone they use in Netting of snow shoes (9) is a carter of a piece of Rhyne slid in the midle taking a peice of Leather of the same wedth, and tyes under the Rhyne, workg. itt with goose quils or porqupine Quils (10) is a Willow yt. itt's fastn'd too.

*a friggasy
of Lice*

I observd. before of these Natives unmercifull Eating, and must needs say all manner of beasts, fow'l and fish of pray, are all a Like to them, they Eating whale, Seals, foxes, &c. cheifly Boyl'd, after they have hung itt up and Smoakd. itt some time;—I have seen a man and his wife have a friggasy of what is semmingly not plausable, But Really truth;—This friggasy was the man sat Downe, the woman also, he Lyes his head in her Lap, while she pick's the Little Eq'uas out, (alias) Lice: meantime has a small Kettle by her she puts them into, when Done, she takes some fatt and Ruhiggan and stirs itt up with the Little Eq'uas, then setts itt on the fire to Boil, when Boil'd a nough, has tak'n them off, satt Downe togeather, and made as hearty a meal as they

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 109

cou'd have done of the best Joint of meat in a Butcher's shop; itt's Common with them tho' an ugly sight to see them pick the Lice out of their own heads, and other's, and Eat them, tho they will tell you they only Crack them and Spitt them out againe, But that's false having observd. the Contrary.

These Natives here are not so Curious in Sowing, or working, as they are further to the Northwd. or further to the Southward, Living in a more perfus'd Way by their Drinking &c.—whereas the North'rn Indians, Know's not the Effects of Spiritious Liquors yet, therefore are no ways corrupted or Debauch'd,—but follow their ancient Custom's to this Day, of more particulars (page 177).

The ancient wear and apperral of the Natives was Leather smock and a Loose Rope over, for the women, the men having Leather waistcoats or body coats, and a Loose Gar'b over, and is still when they can not procure any better, &c.—the way of the womens wear and appearel is to take abou't 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard of cloth, which is to be sow'd up the side to the arm pitts, where they Leav'e op'n a Vacancy being Subject to Sweeting in traveling, and op'n top and bottom, by which their is 4 Strings which they styl (aniskomon) which ties over the shoulder's, and serves them for smock, Gound, and peticoate, (a Very Readyway &c.) they having no other garment But a coate of skins flying over Loose, which Becomes them Very well, they all in generall have a Belt

tied round their waste some being 4 foot Long, and 4 inches wide which if they are with Child will not meet round them; the female sex also wear's a Clout or (arsian) in the winter time to Keep—warm; But never in the Summer; made of a Quarter of a Yard of cloth, having a string round their waste, next their skin, by which they tuck itt in fore and oft', with Stockings of the same stuff;—which Reaches $\frac{1}{2}$ way their thigh and ties to the said string round their waste; with their Garter's tied below the Knee; their shoes are made of Deer skin Drest; and sock's of Green Rabbit skin, with the pel't next the skin, and what Else they Can procure; —they also have Sleeves of Leather or Cloth from the Rist to the shoulder which they also tie togeather with strings before and behind,—a Cap they wear of a peice of Cloth which they sow behind and Reaches over their shoulder's, all these garments are workd. full of Beads, porqu'pine Quil's, and other ornaments, which they Deck themselves out with—they also wear Ear bob's, or String's of Beads, 8 or 9 inches Long, at their Ear's, and Both men and women wears a Bead at their nose, Boring the hole's when Young, they put this bead aside with a Sort of an air when they Drink; and this is the femail Dress,—the Loose skin Coate mention'd has 2 strings which ties under the Chin;—the men Does not Differ much from the women in Dress, they having a Close coate nex't their skin, and a Loose Coate over flying op'n before, with an arsian or clout to cover their

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 111

private parts winter and Summr. Leaving part of their thighs Bear, their Stockings Reaching but a Little way above their Knee's, a round Cap of a piece of Cloth, and this is their Cloathing, with shoes, sock's &c. as before mention'd, when at home, which is where they Lye down Carrying all their Effect's abou't them;—they wear nothing but a moose skin, or hairy Deer skin in hott weather, if they can procure no Cloth, &c.—they use no great Exercise, Eating Drinking and Sleeping Eight month's in the 12: and will never move out but when necessity obliges them.

They have 2 games I have seen them play at a broad; *the women's Games* —Each having a game men and women; the women's is this,—they have 2 ball's Stuff'd and tied to a string, about 6 inches Long, which they styl, (tishesvy's) or a pair of stones, this they toss with a Stick, not touching itt with their hands, being sett so many of a side, two hitts in 3 win's the game, in the Nature of Briz'n Base;¹— they oft'n Lay one against another putting Downe for stakes toye's or finery &c. having no Knowledge of coin, the men has a Game much after the same manner; *the mens Game* —all the Difference being they have a Ball they toss up, and he that Catch's itt and getts to the Baze before another Catches him, win's, the game, or wager.—being all the games I see play'd a broad, they have other small Divertions in their tent's, with Quils & Sticks, which I think is fitter for children, and wou'd be more becoming

¹ Prisoners' Base.

them to be a hunting after game, then to Spend so many Lasy hour's as they Do.

*their
begging*

They us'd formerly to gaine Great Booty's by their begging;—but now a Day's is quite Laid aside;—they us'd before they went up in the Country, Geather to geather in a heap men women and Children, having two old men that Drum'd and sing'd to them, sitting downe while the Rest Danc'd hand in hand round them for¹ some hour's,—for the English to give them something Deck't out to the greatest hight in their way, striving to out do one another, pride and ambition Raining among them as well as Europians.

*their taile
&c.*

I observe the generality of these natives Counts no further then ten, then begins againe Counting by their fingers, tho some few their is, that has or does harbour with the English, that can count to one hundred.

*Different
Nations*

Their is severall Different Nation's² or country Indian's that usses the English settlements, in these norther'n parts, the most pleasantist and truest Language of which is the (na, ka, wa, wuck) Indians, which is those that Borders with the french at the Little sea so Call'd, of these more hereafter. Their is, the Nakawawuck, — Moquo, — Muskekowuck, — Keiskachewon, — poetuck, — Cawcawquek, — Nemau', — wappuss, — sinnepoet, (alias) Boskemo, — Earchetinues, Missinnepee, — Gristeen, — pennesewa-

¹ A blank page follows this word in the manuscript.

² See Appendix B, pp. 309–17, and Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65; 1932).

gewan, — Quashe'o, — Pechepoethinue, — wunnusku, — unnahathewunnutto, — and Uchepowuck — Indians being 18 in Number, and of all these Languages their is but 4 that Differ's in their pronounciation which is the, Sinepoets,—nakawawuck,—Uchepowuck,—and Earchethinues, the Last I never see, at the fort, Excep't a Slave,¹ which was Brought Downe by the Southwd. Indians,—their Country Lyes on the back of this Land, and to the westward of Churchill River, where the Spaniards frequents those seas,² at the same time does not traffick with that nation,—I have heard from the mouth of the said Slave Conserning that Country, by which I understood itt was situated much as York Fort Hays's River, with a fine Navagable River that op'ns into the sea, and great plenty of the best and finest of fur's, which is their Chiefest Commodity's; the Sinnepoets and other Indians Going to warr with them, is a hinderance to their Coming to the English Setlements to trade, and I have Enquir'd whether or not itt was possible to come, when I found itt was not unpossible, if peace was Concluded betw'n them and other Nations, by which was the English to Per'u up the Country, that

¹ The "Earchethinue" slave was probably a member of one of the four tribes known by that name, viz., the Gros Ventres and the three Blackfoot groups, the Blackfeet proper, the Bloods, and the Piegan, whose wanderings extended not only over the Canadian prairies, but far south of the International Boundary. See Appendix B, p. 312.

² The geographical knowledge of Isham and his contemporaries was vague, and was affected by the conception of the "Western Sea" (see p. 114, n.1). The nearest Spaniards to the countries of the "Earchethinues" would have been those of New Mexico.

way, as the french ¹ has Done otherway's, I can not think but itt wou'd turn to Great advantage to our Merchants or of England, their has been and is Still men that wou'd undertake such a Land Voyage with good Encouragem't Either to bring them to the English forts to trade; or to give such a Discription of the Country that a Settlement might be made their. these Natives are Very Numerious their Stature, Complextion, features &c. are much as the other Natives aforementiond.; this Country Lyes to the Wistwd. of Churchill River, and on the So. side of the west seas, by as near a Discription as I cou'd gett of itt;—they have no trade with any Nation as Yet, Notwithstanding the Spaniards pass those seas as before observd.—I persume pease was made amongst these So. Indian's before they Cou'd be Brought to trade,— Nay! Even within these few years, the stone Indian's Kill'd one another, tell matters was made up amongst them, therefore why may not peace be made up between these Indians and those Earchethinues I can see no Difficulty why itt shou'd not, the method Lying so plain and op'n to be Done;—2 men is Suffitient for such an undertaking that is to go with some trusty So. Indian, in the fall or Summer, to the Earchithinue Country,²

¹ La Vérendrye and his sons. La Vérendrye's expedition to the Mandans of 1738–39 and his son's explorations of 1741 showed that the Missouri, once thought to be the "River of the West", eventually reached the Gulf of Mexico, where Spanish and French were both already settled, and not the "Western Sea". See Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 190 et seq.

² E. 2/4, fo. 35, "Observations on Hudson's Bay" by Andrew Graham, 1768, "The Archithinue Indians inhabits the unknown country Westward of the asseenepoet Indians, in the year 1755, I being then at York Fort Accomptant,

taking with them some trifles to give to the Natives, when Done with the So. Indians to their Country tell the spring, Keeping as near as possible to the Earchethinue Country the mean while to see none molest's or Disturbs them tell the Spring, then proceed again to the Earchethinues, using them Civilly, with promise of many such fine Goods &c. if they will come with them to the fort to trade, with a Great many more of such Like Inducements that is requir'd in Such casses, by which I do not Doubt but the trade that might be gain'd by that Country wou'd be Equivolet with York fort trade in a Small time, = a Settlement near ^{see page} the fork up port Nelson River wou'd be of great Service ^{83 [67]} in this undertaking &c.—their is great plenty of Indn. corn in the said country.¹

There is the Eagld. Ey'd. Indians which I never see, but are Sensible they are the same Nation as the sinepoats, or stone Indians, speaking the same Language, sinepoets their name Derives from the stony Country they Live in:²

It's a Very uncertain place for the English mens ^{uncertainty of Living} Living in these parts, we Living sometimes Like princes,

Mr. James Isham who was then Chief Factor, and who was thoroughly acquainted and beloved by all the trading natives did attempt to bring down the Archithinues to trade, by sending an able man [Anthony Hendry or Henday], and in every respect well qualified for such an undertaking up into their country . . . but could not prevail on them to come to trade See *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1907, Section II, L. J. Burpee (ed.), "York Factory to the Blackfeet Country. The Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754-55", and Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 244-50. Cf. p. 312, n. 2.

¹ See p. 68, n. 1.

² This paragraph was added to p. 250 of the Observations with a marginal note: "page 136 [115] this Comes in after Le. 3 [15]."

and other times Like beggars, not a morcel of fresh provisions to put in our mouth's by which itt may be sayd itt's Either a feast or a famine,—for I have Knowne so much Deer's flesh for a fortnight or 3 week's, that we cou'd not Eat itt while good, but has spoild upon our hands, nay! have Refus'd $\frac{1}{2}$ a Dozen Deer at a time, for itt's to be observ'd that itt will not take Salt, because we can not Gett the meet cool before its tainted, having try'd Several Experiments, & in a month afterwards shall not Gett a Deer for Love or money, Notwithstanding Such a Bundance of Deer in the Country, Bleiving no country can abound more in these Beasts, and Can affirm that the Natives has in 3 weeks time, Kill'd upwards of 1,000 Deer by the Quantity of tongues I have Rec'd from them, the skins they use in bags &c. of more hereafter;

*the Engsh.
Dress*

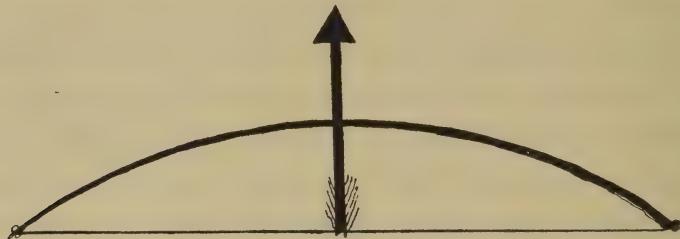
I have mention'd the Natives Dress or method of wear and apperal, and think itt not Inconvenient to observe the English Dress in these Norther'n parts. I can not say but we can make a tollerable shift to go in our English Dress that is a coat waistcoat & shirt &c. in the Summer, for abou't 4 month's, But the other Eight Long tedious months, Necessity obliges us to appear in another fashion not unbecoming us in this part of the world,—Which is a Beaver Coate or tockey which Reaches to the Calf of the Leg, under which a Double Lin'd waistcoate, with a flannel shirt, a pair of Leather mittins Lin'd with Flannel or Duffle, and Cas'd

with Beaver, the furr side outwards upon our hands, for the Conveniency of holding them to the face in Cold weather;—a cap of cloth Lind with flannel, and a Cape of Beaver, which hangs over the shoulders and ties under the chin, a Chin Clout, so calld., which is a peice of Duffle that covers all the face Leaving a hole for the nose and Eye's, and ties behind, a pair of good Buck skin Britches, a pair of Cloth Stockings over a nother pair of worsted Stockings, which Reaches up to the Crutch, and a pair of good Deer skin shoes, with 3 sock's upon Each foot, a powder horn, shott Bouch; upon our shoulder;—a bag upon the back, with a tin pott and hatchet by the side, with a Beard as Long as Captain Teache's,¹ and a face as black as any Chimnly Sweepers.— and this is the figure we make appearing more Like Beasts then men, with the hairy Cloathing we wear, and Notwithstanding all this warm Cloathing, the penetrating Cold has it's Effect that men freezes as aforemention'd.

These Natives are good Mark's men with their Gun, tho not to Compare to Some of our own Country men, their antient way being only Bow's and Spear's— Knowing nothing of the Effects of a fowling peice tell the English settled in these parts;—their game is Chiefly *their hunting* Running, or Standing, Excep't those Indians that Keep's constant attendance to the factory's in the Seasons, who Kils most flying Killing 100 Geese and upwards of a

¹ Edward Teach or Thatch, pirate (died 1718), commonly known as "Blackbeard". See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Day Each man in a Stand,¹—Which stand is a Little Brush or wood put round Breast high wherein they sitt, and as the geese fly's by in Ranges they Call them within shott if a mile of and having two Guns by them,



(1) An Indian Bow of Berch (2) the Arrow with a Sharpe Iron at the End (3) Ehuskemay bow & arrow (4) Strings which is fastn'd to the bow as a Stay to itt being Juniper.

will as they come towards them Kill one oft'n 3 or a 4 at a Shott, and so as they go from them Kill as many more with the other gunn, at the Same time Keep calling and Loading that if the flock Consists of 20 Geese hee'l besure to have them all,—they will oft'n Kill a Great many at a Shott Rising, Creeping along with their gun at their Shoulder, thro woods and Swamp's, tell they

¹ A quarter-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

think they are nigh a Nuff then start foreward which occations the Geese to Rise upon the wing, when he watches the time, takes them as they rise killing 20 or 30 at a shott and Sometimes more.

I have made itt my Buisness¹ to gaine the Names of all the Different sorts and Kinds of fowl's in these parts but when I considerd and found by the Long Enquire I had made, that itt was an undertaking almost unpossable for the time I shoud reside in these parts, their being such a perdigious Variety of fowls, I then imagin'd itt wou'd be better to trop such then proceed,²—But having

¹ W. Swainson and J. Richardson, *Fauna Boreali-Americanæ; or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America . . . Part Second, The Birds* (London, 1831), Introduction, pp. ix-x, "Science is indebted to the exertions of the Hudson's Bay Company for almost all that is known of the Ornithology of the American Fur-countries; under which term we comprehend generally *the whole country north of the forty-eighth parallel of latitude*. . . . The first collections of Hudson's Bay birds of which I can find any record, are those formed by Mr. Alexander Light, who was sent out, ninety years ago, by the Hudson's Bay Company, on account of his knowledge of Natural History; and by Mr. Isham, who, during a long residence, as Governor of various forts or trading-posts, employed his leisure hours in preparing the skins of beasts, birds, and fishes. These two gentlemen returning to England, about the year 1745, fortunately for the advancement of Ornithology, entrusted their specimens to Mr. George Edwards, who did them ample justice, in his splendid 'Natural History of Birds,' . . . the most original and valuable work of the kind in the English language. In the first volume, he has figured and described with accuracy *ten* of Mr. Light's birds, and in his third volume, which appeared in 1749, *thirty-two* of Mr. Isham's are equally well illustrated. . . .".

² George Edwards, *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds . . . , Part III*, (London, 1750), p. 107, refers to "Mr. Isham, who has obliged me extremely by furnishing me with more than thirty different Species of Birds, of which we have hitherto had little or no Knowledge, the far greatest Part of them being Non-descripts . . . Mr. Isham has been employ'd for many Years in the Service of the *Hudson's-Bay* Company, and has, for some Years past, been Governor under them at different Times, of several of their Forts and Settlements in the most Northern habitable Parts of *America*; where at his leisure Times, his

120 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

had Information and Knowledge of some sorts, I have here given a Small acc't of them, tho I may firmly say not a 10th part of the Sorts and Kinds of fowl's in these parts.¹

*Seven
sorts of
Geese
white
Geese*

Their is Seven sorts of geese, as first the white geese, which they style (wappawawewuck) which the English Call's weywey's, these has only Black feathers in their tail and wings Red Legd.—the Ganders has a Little Reddish feathers upon the head, and smells of mus'k, the geese² being white headed and no musky smell, which is one method to Know the geese from the Gander's, they Breed to the Northwd. in the Summr. and to the Sowthwd. in the winter, which is twice a Year; they Come from the Southward to go to the Northward the begining of may staying 3 week's or a month in the marshes, and Return from the Northwd. in august, and are all gone again to the Southward by the first of october, they are not so Large as the English geese but Very fatt,—which fatt is not so strong and Rank as the fatt of our English geese; they are Extrodinary good Eating fresh or Salt, and a Great help to the mentanance of the English who Setles in these parts, the Natives

commendable Curiosity led him to make a Collection of all the Beasts, Birds, and Fishes of those Countries, as well as the Habits, Toys, and Utensils of the native *Americans*. The Furs of the Beasts, and the Skins of the Birds were stuffed and preserved very clean and perfect, and brought to *London* in the Year 1745”.

¹ Cf. J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1911), pp. 369–410, “Birds”.

² This word is followed by a half-page space in the manuscript.

Killing for them some thousands of a Season, and is the cheif of our Diet.

Grey Geese their is a pretty many in the marsh's and fen's in England the same sort as these to the best of my Rememberance, the Natives style's these (Neishcoock) they are grey featherd, black feathers in their wings, some few white feathers in their tail, a white Circle round their Neck, white breast and Belly, with brown Legs and feet, and of a Different Call from the weyweys, and much Larger being the Size of an English goose, and Courser meet than white Geese or Weyweys,— these are seen in the marshes a fortnight or more sooner in the Seasons before the weywey's, and stay Later in the fall at this place when they are Very fatt, and Extrodinary Good Eating.

Appiskesk^eske suck as the Natives Styles them are *piskeshis*
the Same Colour, and Call's much¹ the Same as *suckt*
the Grey Geese, only smaller and tastes Very fishy
Sometimes.

Blew wy'weys, so calld. which they styl, (Kurskatawa = *Blew*
= wawuck) is of a Blew² Colour intermix't with Black *geese*
and ² white feathers and motled about the Neck with Red
Legs & Call's much the Same as the white Geese, they are
scarce here, but ab't 700 miles to the Southward Very
plenty where white geese are as scarce, they are also
Good food.

¹ Nearly a whole-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

² A three-quarter page space follows this word in the manuscript.

*Laug'hing
geese*

Laug'hing geese are of the size of a weywey, but ¹ of a Different Colour being brown wings, neck, head, & back, and spotted black and white on the belly with Yellow bills, and feet, and Very good Eating they are Calld. Laug'hing geese by their call, being Like a person Laug'hing &c.

*Dunter
Geese*

Dunter geese (alias) mesheship are more proper Dunter Ducks, are not so Numerious as the other's, they are brown all over (the hens) short neck't and some as ¹ big as a weywey, the Cock's are motled black & white &c.; they are not so Good Eating as the other's, the flesh being course, and the skin of a Blackish Colour.

*Brant
Geese*

Brant Geese which the Natives Call's¹—(wirthawappa = wawuck;) are also the Colour of Grey geese But smaller, not being much bigger then a wild Duck, all other geese sits in the marshes swamp's and plains but these, they flying all over the Edge of the shores, next the seas, and sitt upon the shores, where they breed in the Summer, they have a Different Call from other geese Neither will they come to a call as other geese does, itts a Difficulty to tell where those Brants comes from, they being seen here only in the fall of the year, when they come from the Northwd. in great Quantity's and go to the Southwd. or cross the seas and go to the Eastward, for at York which is not much above 50 Leagues from this place their is none of them seen fall or spring,

¹ Three-quarter page spaces follow these words in the manuscript.

therefore can give no true acc't from whence they come, or to where they go, more then they Come to us from the Northwd. and breed in the Sum'r along shore between this place & York fort therefore its Reasonable to think they go in Land when done breeding and wheel round to the Northwd. & Come to us in the fall, (I can not gett any acc't where they go in the winter.)

Partridges here is of the three sorts as the Rock *Rock partridg's* partridges, the willow partridges, and the wood *partridg's* partridges,—Rock partridges is the smallest, and black from the Eye to the Bill, and white all over else¹ in the winter, Excep't the tail, having 14 black feathers with a Little white at the End and the Rest which is 14 more all white, they are all Double featherd to the Claw's towards the month of Aprill, they Change to a moth Colour, and in the Summer are of a Reddish Colour and white Speckled all over, much the Colour of the English partridges,—they are Very Dry Eating of themselves, & of a Bitter taste, to a Stranger, we being so much us'd to them do not perceive itt.

The willow Partridge which is Larger then those *willow partridg'e* above mention'd is the same colour Excep't the black from the Eye to the Bill;—and Change the same, these are Very Numerious some Years ; that a man has when they have been out a Gravelling, Kill'd 70 or 80 at one shott, Nay! have had a Call for and Expendd. 400 of a week; for 8 month's in the 12: being the chiefest

¹ Two blank pages follow this word in the manuscript.

provision we have in the winter fresh, and also a Great Suply to the English in these parts;

*wood
partridg's*

Wood partridges are not nigh so plenty as those afore mention'd, they are much the colour of our English partridges, but something Larger, they are Very fatt in the fall and good Eating, but in the Depth of winter are hardly worth Killing,—Neither do they Change their colour as others do,—I have seen these so tame, that they will not stir tell nock't of the trees with Sticks.

pheasts.

Pheasants are Likewise smaller then in England and also Scare, and Keep's their natural Colour,—'tis rare to see above 5 or 7 in a flock this way, but further to the Southw'd, or in Land they are Numerious, seeing sometimes 50 or 70 in a flock, they are also fatt in the fall of the year, and poor in the winter—when in Season no fow'l to Compare to them &c.—

a pelican

A pilican which they sty'l (shasucque,) is a Large bird, with a great Bill Long neck't and short Legd. Carrying their neck Like a Swan; of a Dark Grey colour and web footed under the throat hangs a bag, which when fill'd wou'd hold 2 Gallons, the Substance of itt is a thin membrane, of a sky Colour, they fly Very heavy and Low, and fish is their Chiefest food, the Bouch, as well as stomach has fish found in itt. the Bouch or bag is purely to Keep their food in; they are Eat by some.

Rail

these are the same as in England, &c.—

Archibald H. Bog



OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 125

Browne crains are but small in comparison to a white Craine, which is Very Large, some being 10 foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ high from the claw to the Bill, the Claws 9 inches Long, the Legs 4 foot Long, with a Body of two foot and a neck a Little Longer, with a Bill 16 inches Long, and from the tip of one wing to the other 7 foot a fine bold Bird, but are scarce by the sea shore in Land being more plenty, and will strike an Indn. Dead at one Dart, as I have been Inform'd.

Its Very Rare to see any Pidgeons or doves, in these parts, or Downe by the sea side, tho in Land some hundred miles are Very Numerious, once in 12 Year I Did see some millions of them, which Came from the Southwd. flying in Ranges as the Geese does, &c.: they are of a Blew Grey and abou't as big as a dove pigeon and Very Good Eating.

Jack Daw's and Mackpye's the same as in England but Scarce.

Here is what they call a water crow a Very curious Bird, they are of the Size of a common crow, and are all¹ black but are Web footed, their Legs Close under the Rump, Like a Lun'n, by which when upon Land they walk upright, which is but Seldom, when they are it's upon a decent, where they can heave themselves down to Gaine the wing,—these water crow's, a Lun'n willock's and Severall other fowl's can not gaine the wing upon Level ground,—their Bill is Long, the under bill

¹ A half-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

hanging over the upper bill one inch, and is sharp,—the upper bill is the shape of a Duck's Bill,—Long hairy feather's on the crown of the Head, I Never see but two of these crow's which was Brought me by upland Indian's, who gott itt at the back of this Island. (York fort) we're they are but scarce.

Bittern's

Bittern's also Very many in the marshs and Swamp'y ground, they are of a Reddish Browne, Long Legd. and Long billd. I never Knew the Natives to Eat them.

Lunn's

Lunn's here is of two sorts the water Lun', and what they call a Land Lun', or Indian Lun (alias) Ethinue Moquo these are of a Beautifull Colour's—spotted & Red headd. &c. the water Lun' is spotted black and white, they have very short wings & Large body for their bigness, sharp Billd. & a midling neck—they are the same shape as a water crow as to their Leg's, web footed,—but the Land Lun's are not, they are Very course Rank food, they Live¹ Chiefly upon fish,—the Natives Seldom Eats them when they do its w'n they can gett nothing better.

willocks

Willocks here is none near this coast, but in Hudsons Streights &c. perdigious Numerious, they are about as ¹ big as a Duck, Black & white &c. the Sailors Eats them frequent Chiefly Broy'l'd.

flying seal

Flying Seals as the Natives Calls them are ab't as big as a teal, (i.e.) ²

¹ Nearly full-page spaces follow these words in the manuscript.

² Almost five blank pages follow this word in the manuscript.

Swans we have great and small, a fine Noble Lofty *Swans* bird swiming in the water.—seeing morning and Evening some Hundreds at a time in the water,—amongst the Islands, but are Very shy, their is no Killing them but as they fly by when setting in a stand. they are Larger then the English swans and fatter, the old swans are but course food, the flesh turning black soon after Dres'd but a Young swan is Reckon'd tollerable good Eating; (as for my part shall always prefer a (pickle'd) round weywey before them.)

This Bird the Natives styl's, wch. signifies *a sort of wood pecker* and is what we call in other Countrys, a wood pecker—it's the sizes of a Jay, spotted from the breast and a Long the Belly, not unlike a thrush, a black spott upon the breast, a black spott under the Eye, and Light Colour'd under the throat, between Each of those spotts,—the Crown of the head is adorn'd with a Beautifull Red,—all the Rest of the head being of a browne Colour,—the Back to the Rump & upper part of the wings, is motled black and Brown and the Rump motled black and white,—the tail has seven feather's wc'h is forke'd,—the upper part ¹ of the tail feathers being black and the under part Yellow, as Likewise the under part of the wing is of a fine Gold Colour, it has feet Like a sparrow, the under bill, is two inches Long, and the upper bill not so Long by an inch, being short and broad and as sharpe as a Needle,—in skining this bird

¹ Almost a whole-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

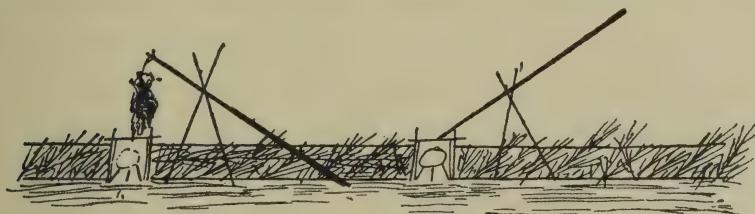
I observ'd the tongue or two feibre's at the Root of the tongue goes twice round the Neck, and is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in Length, the tip end of the tongue turns up like a hook, and sharp by wch. when they have made a hole in the tree, with their bill they Draw, the worm out, wch. is the Cheif of their food;—in the whole they are a Beautifull bird, their note is not unlike a Jay's,—in Crossing Hudsons Bay we have them some times, hovering about the ship 30 Leagues from Land, Supposing they are blown of the Land by hard gales of wind, and thick weather miss their way, as also swallows or pigeons, as Likewise severall other small birds, I have observ'd upon the ocean a Great Distance from Land,—the feather's of these birds, the Indians mixe's with other feathers, to ador'n their Callimut or pipe with. the Red featherd. part of the skin, they put a bead, a thimble or some other pauble, & tie in their Ears,—their is Eagle's Kites owl's Bustards &c. the same as in England, and Hundreds of other fowl's their is in the Country many of which I cou'd find no name for as in page 21: 22: & 23 [pp. 23-5]:—(—the Hen of the above mentiond' bird, is the same shape & make, but Smaller, & Spotted black and white.)

Rabbits

Rabbitts in some parts are Very plenty, in the Summer they are the same Colour as in England, in the winter snow white, 100 I have Catcht' in a Night by snaring, and in the spring of the years, the Natives shoots 20 or 30 of a Day, they squatting under Bushes sunning

themselves,—the way they shoot them is this,—as soon as an Indian starts or sees a Rabbitt, he Directly Lay's his mitten, Cap, or any black thing Down, then goes round and comes opposite the Rabbitt, by which he Returns back in his own track tell he comes to the Cap as before mention'd, fixing his Eyes on this objec't by which the Indn. follows him comes within shott & Kills, him, and Very oft'n the Rabbitt fixes his Eyes so stedfastly at the Cap &c. that an Indian will Catch them in his arm's, these Rabbits has a short skutt and short Ears;—the Claw's of their feet very Long, and Very thick Furr'd, they are Very good meet and moisture then our English Rabbits.

The method of catching these Rabbits is by snaring making Hedges for a considerable Length, Leaving the path's Vacant, where we Drive two small sticks, lying a cross stick to them then fixing a horse of two sticks a cross Lay's a Long pole on which the string of the snare



is tied to, then taking a Slippery hitch with the said string, to the above Cross piece, the snare Remains sound, with 2 notch't sticks to support itt from blowing on one side, & one stick under,—when the Rabbitt being

130 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

Entangld. in the Snare, strives to gett away by which the Slipery hitch draw's, and the pole flyes up, and the Rabbitt hangs Clear from the Ground.¹

*white
hair's*

Amongst the Rocks their is hair's, which is as Large to the full as our English hairs,—they also Change their Colour to white in the winter, they are Very Scarce and further to the Southward in the marshy Grounds none to be seen,—Rabbitts breeds three times of a Year, &c.: the Natives makes no Difference more than Calling these Last great Rabbits (alias) Meshigatau wappuss.²

*flying
squirls'*

Flying Squr'l's here is the same as in other ² parts having a thin flap on Each side which Supports them to fly from one tree to another, But no Great Distance not above 8 or 12 Yards at a time,—and snakes plenty in Land, but never see any by the Sea shore where I have been;—I do not Doubt' in Land 4 or 5 Hundred miles, but itt must be a fine Country, and the Climate quit Differt. to what it tis by the Sea shore,—having seen Severall Indians that has not Known what snow shoes was, they not having snow above 3 inches Deep all winter,—whereas here some fathom's Deep as aforemention'd,—a most Dismal place ³ in the winter the unsufferable Cold making itt unpleast. and in the Summer have other

¹ This paragraph was added to p. 250 of the Observations with a marginal note: "page 167 [129] this Comes in after Line 17 [13]".

² Almost a whole-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

³ Kenney, *The Founding of Churchill*, pp. 118–19, James Knight's journal, Churchill River, July 16, 1717, "In the Morning wee did gett up our Anchor & went in by the Beacons . . . & when wee was gott in I went a Shore, but I never See such a Misserable Place in all my Life. . .".

Enemies to Batle with; which is sand fly's, which sand *Sandflies* fly's are so thick a man Can not see his way for them, Even' if a man open's his mouth he is Lyable to be Joack't, these is nothing to compair to Musketo's *musketeos* (suckema) being only troublesome about the face, But musketeos, Bitt's with their sharpe bill in such a manner, that shall have their head Swelld. as big as a tilterkin,¹ as to a man's not Seeing a mar'k he fires at for them is nothing, for on Comming out of the woods You may very well sweep a bushell of one mans head;—Nay! have been so thick we have been oblige to Shovel them away before we Cou'd gett in at the Doors: in the heat of the Day, or constant Dry weather, their is but few to be seen, only morning, and Evening, but with a Small shower of Raine they are so plenty and Bitt Very sharpe as before observd. they Breed mostly in the wett Swampy Ground.

Musketo hawk's (alias) Suacanappasish is Like for *musket hawks* shape and make what we call a horse fly in England, these does Rather good then harm, killing a great quantity of musketeos and flesh flies.

Flesh flies are still more troublesome and offendive, *flesh fly's* then those aforemention'd, which the Natives styl's, (au'mo,) they taking a peice wherever they Bite, the Hotter the weather the plentier they are, these are Very troublesome to the beasts, as Deer &c. the poor creatures Running as oft' persu'd by a much more formidable Enemy, if such Can be possible, into the water, where

¹ Presumably kilderkin, an eighteen-gallon cask.

they Lay themselves Downe, under the Surface of the water, to Keep these Vermin from Destroying them,— What with the heat and plague of these fly's, and musketo's, makes them Very poor in the Summer months.

*mawse
Eat*

Their is a Sort of mawse which grows upon the Rocks, which is of a Brownish Colour, which the Indians Eats frequent, they wash itt clean, then Boil itt for a considerable time till its tender, then mixing itt with Ruhiggan Burgoe¹ or other Victuals, and Reckon itt Good Eating;

*Scurvy
Grass*

Scurvy Grass² has been found at this place Lately, growing by the Sea shore amongst the Rocks, the same as in England, (Vizt.) at the Very point of Ehuskemay point³ &c.

*Jackashe
puck*

Jac'kashepuck, so call'd by the natives, is a Leaf Like unto a box Leaf, itt Grow's about 2 foot high, and Run's

¹ I.e., burgoo, a thick oatmeal gruel or porridge used chiefly by seamen (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

² Presumably Sea or Scottish Scurvy Grass : the Sea Bindweed, *Convolvulus Soldanella*. At least as early as 1738 the Company had shown an interest in the native plants and herbs. Writing to Richard Norton at Prince of Wales's Fort and to Isham at York Fort on May 18, 1738, the Governor and Committee directed them "to plant in Small Boxes, some roots of the Several sorts of Herbs, Plants and Shrubs, that are in Your parts, and . . . save at a proper time, some of the Seeds, Berries, Cones or Kernels, of all things growing in Your Country, and send the same by our Ship, And that the Surgeon do write us the Indian names thereof, And give us a Particular discription with their Qualities, and his observations" (A. 6/6, fos. 7d. and 18d.).

³ The semi-isolated promontory on the western side of the entrance to Churchill River and the site of the stone fort. See p. 173. James Knight changed the name from Eskimo (" Iskemay ") Point to " point Look out " on August 9, 1717, but the new designation did not live. See Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, p. 146.

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 133

in Long branches spreading itt Self upon the Ground, the Stalk's not being of Substance to bear itt up, this Leaf they Dry and pound, mixing itt with their tobacco when they smoak, if they Can not procure this, they take of a sort of shrub a black Berry grows on, which they style, (auskemenaw.)

Of Berries their is several sorts here not Known in England, Severall of which I cou'd gett no acot. of.

Goose Berries Very plenty but never see any but the *Goose berries* black when ripe, some Grow's as high as in England, other's which grow's at this Barren and Rocky place are not above 6 inches high spreading along the Ground.

Currans both Red and black the same as in other parts,—Cranberries Very plenty, as also Huckle berries, *Currans* *Cranberries* or Dew berries. *Dewberries*

A Yellow Berrie Grow's here (alias) Borocatomenuck which is Like unto a Rasberrie for bigness, and tast, but grows on a plant not above 5 inches from the ground, also a Red berrie which in taste Like a Raspberry and also Grows Low.

Strawberries are the same as our wood strawberry's *Straw berries* in England, but Larger,—also Juniper Berries Reckon'd as fine as in any part of the world but not Very plenty and many other sorts &c.

Their is no oak or ash growing Downe by the sea shore but in Land a Considerable Distance great Quantity's, as also Ceder, pears, Plum's, Cherry's wild &c.

134 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

anchillico

Anchillico Vast quantity's of a great bigness, having seen some Eight or nine foot high, and about as thick as the Rist.

*wishaka
pucka*

Plants of Physicky Herb's Several are growing in these parts one of Which they styl (wishakapucka) which is us'd as a perge or fomentation, but the English in these parts makes a Drink of itt, going by the Name of wishakapucka tea, being of a fine flavour, and Reckon'd Very wholesome,—I was troubled Very much my Self with a Nervious Disorder, but by Constant Drinking 1 pint made strong for three months Entirely cur'd me, &c.

Further 2d V.

page 175—¹

[Volume II] ²

A Small Discription ³ of an or'r gott to the Eastward of Churchill June 7th 1747.—abt. 70 miles Distance.

The Ridge or Little hill of an oval form & 153 foot in Length, 94 foot in Breath, ab't $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 foot high from the Surface of the marsh.

¹ The first book of "Observations" (E.2/1) ends at this point.

² E2/2.

³ The description of the ore was inserted on a separate page at a later date. According to B.42/a/24, Ferdinand Jacobs was sent on June 6, 1743, "about 2 Days Journey to the Eastward, to take an observation of a mine Discovered Last Augst.". He returned on the 9th, and on August 8 Isham reported the matter to the Governor and Committee (A.11/13, fo.82d.). Isham's report is identical, except for a few unimportant words, with the "Discription" given above. Cf. p. 218.

The Orr is mix't in the Clay from 6 inches downe to 18 or 20 inches Downe,—which was as Deep as the froze ground wou'd Let us dig, and is not to be found in the midle or top, only in the Sides,—the Clay in the midle or top is of a Loose Nature and of one colour, the Clay in the Sides where the Or'r is found, is of a Clammy nature, and of Severall Colour's;—the Black Orr is gott on the same Ridge or hill the Distance from the Ridge or hill to the Edge of the Ice on the Sea Side is abou't $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile,—On the upper part of the surface of the Ridge or hill, are Severall small stones of Different Colours.

Another place about 400 yds. beyond the above and nigher the Sea shore is ab't 4 yds. Square, a Red Clay'e Substance, and ab't 6 inches under the water where the Or'r is tak'n from under the Said Clay; and not so pondrious as the former.

Their is a small Rivelet of water wch. runs by the above places of mineral nature & I have tryd Several pieces of the above mentioned orr in Crucible Soughing itt first and have gott almost $2/3$ Clear metle to $1/3$ Dross.

Their is a willow they styl, (misqua pemeque,) or red *Redwillow* willow, which makes an Excellent Dye upon bone, Ivory, Quils, or cloth &c.: taking the out side bark of, and boiling the under bark, for a Considerable time, over a moderate fire, and Boyl a Comb for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, will come out a fine Deep Red, the Root of which tree makes

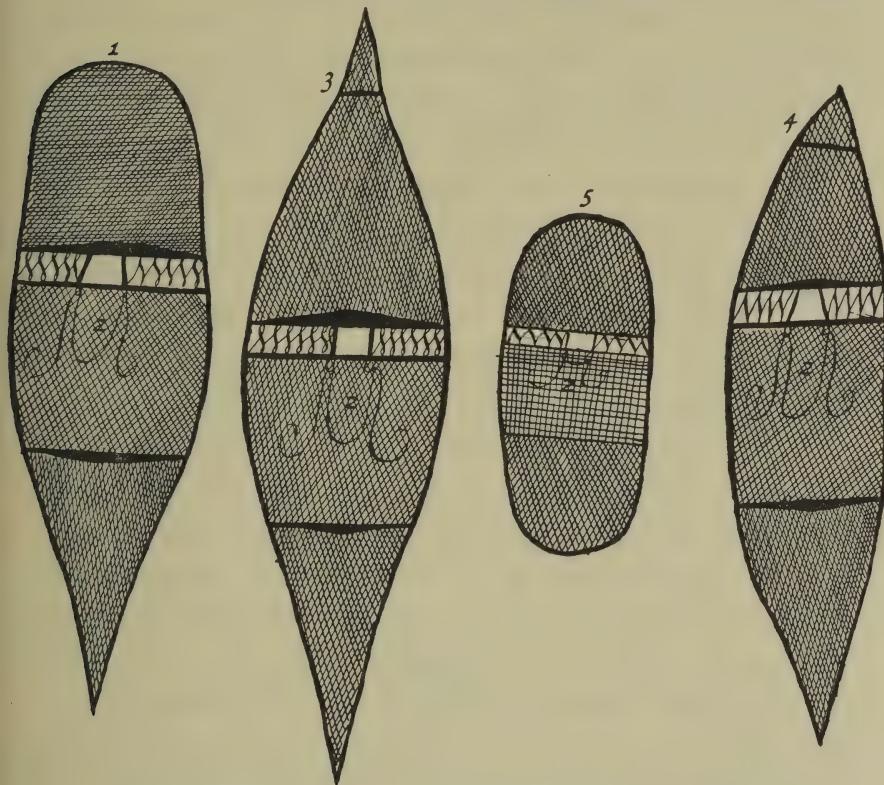
black Dye

a finer & Deeper Dye then the Bark, mixing itt with the bark, as also Cranberries,—they also Dye black with a sort of stone they gett from the side of a spring in Land, of a Sulfr'ace Nature, they pounding the stone then putting itt into water with the Quils, and sett itt over the fire tell the Quils &c. begins to turn,—in the mean time making a fire at another place of pine, when they take the shell that is upon the ashe's, and puts into the black Dye, which setts the Quils &c. and makes them take Dye the better,—They also Dye a Very good Yellow, with a sort of maw'se, taking the mawse and putting itt into a Kettle with Quils &c. over a moderate fire in the same manner of Boiling as they do the Red,—a Very Little of this mau'se, Even one ounce will Dye some thousands of Quils.

*Yellow
Dye**touchwood*

Their grow's here Large Berch trees, which they Call (wursequatrick,) on the Root of the branches of the Said tree, grow's Large Knops of wood of Different form's, which they style (posogan) which posogan is of great service to the Natives, they using itt to strike Light to, as we do touch wood, itts very soft & Spunge and Very Light when Dryd., itts Substance Resembles Spunge, being some soft, some hard, according to the time geather'd, and is of a Yellowish Colour, some of which pieces is as big as a peck,—this posogan when once Light is Very Difficult to put out, if not tak'n in time, and if not put out will Clow and Bur'n tell quite Consum'd to ashes and never Blaze.

Pine, Willow, Juniper, Berch and popla'r is the only trees we have Downe this way, of which they make their snow shoes, cannoes and Sleds;—Splitting a tree with

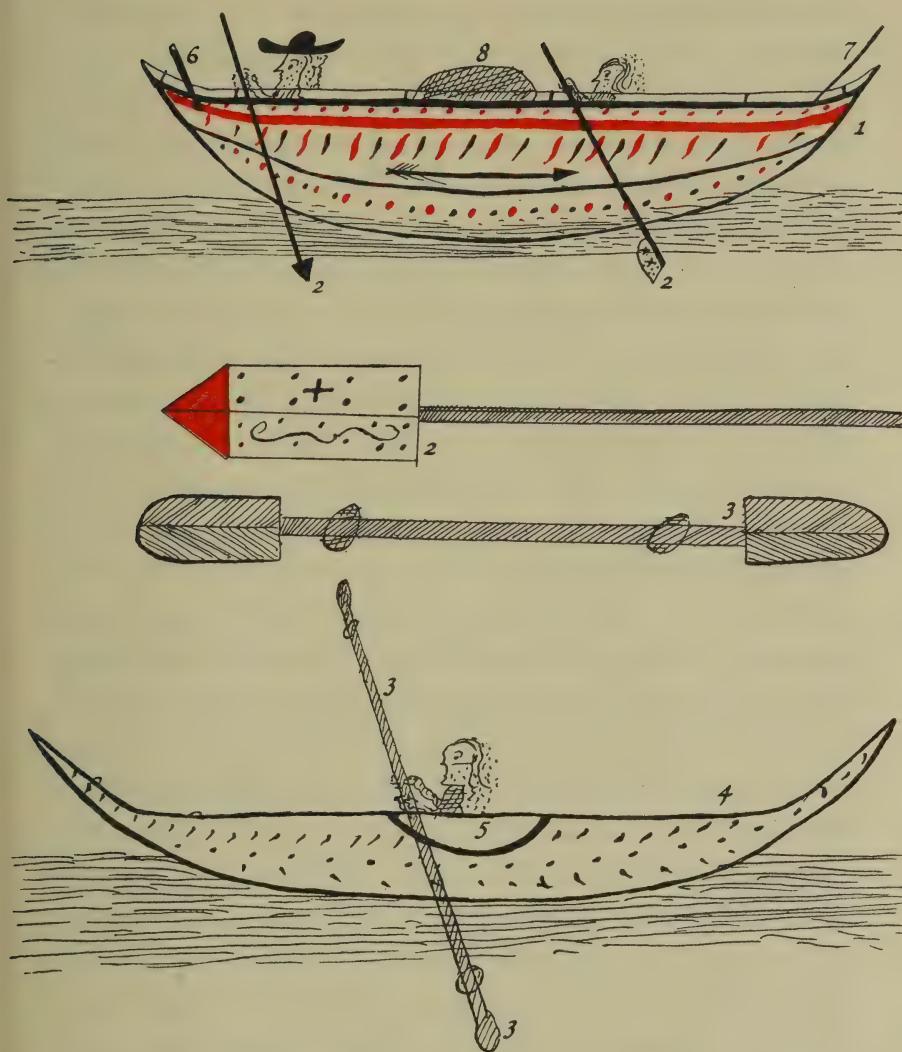


(1) An Indian snow shoe (2) the strings which is tied to the foot (3) a Galley shoe (4) a Northern Indian shoe (5) a hoop nett, which Childn. wears made of willow, when they can not gett Berch or Juniper.

their hatchet,—their snow shoes are of Different form's *Snow shoes* and sizes, some being 7 and 8 foot Long, a small Comfort for a man to Carry upon his feet Several months up to

the Knees in Snow,—their is round toed. shoes which runs to a sharpe point at the Hee'l, and about 18 inches over in the midle, all of one piece being before turn'd by the fire and water 14 and 16 foot in Length,—Galley shoes are in two pieces Narrow at the top and turns up a Little, and sharpe at the Hee'l, another which is round toed, and hee'l is what Children wears, which they Styl' (musquatum,) the Northern Indians makes their snow shoes sharp at both Ends turning up but a Very Little, at the toe and wider on one side then the other,— It's a Little curious how they manage to gett pieces of that Length out of a tree, 14 or 16 inches thro, the frame of the snow shoe not being above one inch thick one way, and one and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch the other way, But more strange of the pieces they put between the Ribs and Rhyne of the Cannoes being 10: 12 and 14 foot Long and not thicker then paist board, having 20, or 30 of these in a Canoe which makes itt stiff, some of these Cannoes are made of one piece of Rhyn'e,—I once or twice see them fitting, and making one of these Vessels, they making a frame of the bigness the Vessel is to be, which Done they fix the Rhyne, having a good fire on Each side, for to make the Rhyn pliant,—they then take 2 pieces of the full Length and fix fast on each side for the Gunnels, they then Lay 3 Lath's or thin pieces on the Bottom, three or 4 Double, then fix the Ribs upon them, and with the heat of the fire turn the Rhyn to the side or gunnel, making them all fast, Building

Cannoes



(1) An Indian Canoe (2) the oar or paddle (3) Ehuskemay
oar (4) Ditto Canoes (5) a hole in the middle for one to
Sitt in (6) a Gun (7) a Spar (8) Bundles of Goods.

them to a sharpe at Each end, which turn's up, and round bottomd.,—the women then comes and sows the Rhyn to the Gunnels or sides, the Ribs closing in between, having 4 thaw'ts one at Each End 2 almost in the midle, Leaving Vacancy for one to Sitt between Each thaw't, when the women has Done Sowing; they Launch her out of the Dock or frame, turn her up and pitch the Seam's, which is occationd. by cutting slits in the Rhyn to round itt,—this pitch is turpentine, they gett from the trees; which they style (peque) which some mixes up with fatt, others chaw's itt in their mouth's to make itt pliant, and this is the method I see, they making them mostly in Land, not being Berch within 60 or 8 [sic] miles of the Sea shore.

of wolves

Wolves are very plenty in these parts, being some hundreds, Kill'd. of a year, their is 2 sorts the small hunting wolves and the Large Ravenious wolves, Either of which will single a Deer from a herd, and never Leave the Chase tell the Deer Drop's, which is the Chiefest of their food, they most and End go in herds in quest after prey, tell they come in Reach then Seperate, I never Knew any offer to seize an Indian unless wounded so they can not make of, then they will, and so will any Creature, Nay Even a mouse, they never change as Rabbits &c. does, they gender in march and april going the Same time, as a Bitch, and of the same Nature, having a great many at a Litter they style these (mehiggan) foxes and Wolverins are also the same nature as a Dog, the Last

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 141

Seldom having more then 2 at a Litter, the wolves are of a white & Grizd. Colour.

Wolveree'n's, or Quequahatches (alias) murtastuss¹ are also Very Numerious—they are ruff coated and short Leg'd, Very strong for their bigness,—being not higher the[n] a fox, but thicker and more Like a Badcher, they are very Glomsay and Slow footed, and cou'd not have *wolvere'ns* imagin'd they shou'd Kill Deer as they do, not by running them Downe, no! they Gett in a tree and as the Deer passes, they spring upon their back's, gett hold of their Neck and their hang and Suck their blood, tell the Deer trops;—of all the beast's in the Country, their is none so much of an Enemy to the Indians, as these Creatures are; by breaking their stages op'n and getting all their provender away, as before observ'd, being unpossible to secure anything out of their way, for Notwithstanding an Indian spri'gs and Bark's a tree of a considerable highth and afterwards, heave water upon itt tell itt's cas'd with Ice a foot thick, yet these creatures will Glime up and Steel the provender, that the Indians imagin'd secur'd, when done Came Downe backwards or tail foremost; I have Known them when catch't in a trap by the thigh to break the bone, and then Naw themselves out and march of with 3 Leg's,—their black or browne with a white Circle round their back's, they never change their Colour,—they are catch't in Log traps chiefly, and are Eat by the natives,

¹ A three-quarter page space follows this word.

tho not by the English, they are Very strong Rank food.

Catts

Catt's are a feirce Creature to Look at, and about as big as a small sheep, their Skins are the finest and softest furr in the Country, they are also Numerious, they style these (peshue) they Live Chiefly upon Rabbitts and partridges, tho Kill Deer sometimes after the same manner as the Quiquahatches does. they¹ Gender in the Spring and have young in the summer, being the Same Nature as a tame catt, having a great many at a time, they breed but once a Year,—as Likewise those aforementioned does the same,—these Catt's can not Run fast, for if an Indian Comes a thought them or one he is sure to have itt, by hollowing & running, with their Dogs—which frightn's the Creature and occasions his taking to a tree for shelter, by which he shoots them, these does not care to take a trap, as other Creatures does, having had them Refuse bait's oft'n, and how the Natives entices them into trap's, I can not tell, but they make a shif't to Kill some roods. of a Year, Chiefly by snaring:—I have been Informd. a Sculk's head is a good baite for them no never see itt try'd;—they are a Spotted skin, a head and Ear's Like unto a tame catt, but a Scutt Like a Rabbitt,—they are Eat by the Natives and wou'd also by the English if they can gett them, being Reckon'd as sweet and as fine Eating as any Lamb, the flesh being white smooth grain'd and the fatt firm.

¹ This word is followed by a three-quarter page space in the manuscript.

Porqu'pine which they styl (eawqu'a) is the Nearest in *porquepine* comparison to a hedghog, of any thing I Know of; But a great Deal Larger,—these Creatures is an Enemy to all other beasts, none Daring discomode or touch them on account of their Quils, which they Bruze'll up and at the approach of any thing they Leave them sticking wheresomever they touch, which if not pulld. out work's theyr way thro', and Comes out on the opposite side,—they travel at a Low Rate being¹ a whole day travelling 2 or 3 miles,—they make a Difficult track to find them by, their seeming to go backwards when they go forwards,—they Live Chiefly upon Juniper bark, and harbour under the Roots of trees,—they Seldom shoot them,—but when they come a thought them in a tree commonly Cutt the tree Downe, and Knock them on the head,—their Quils are but small to what they are in other parts being the Longest not above 3 or 4 inches, they are fine Eating Roasted, and may be Compaird to a big, and Very fatt sometimes, they Gender in Septr. and october and have young in may or June, Seldom or Ever having more then one at a time a Live, having two, but one is commonly Dead.

I'tts a Little strange the Breed of these beaver Does *beaver* not Diminish greatly considering the many thousands that is Killd. of a Year;—these beaver are the same as in other parts, Supposing they are Knowne by most people,—they are Very Large with the wester'n Indian's,

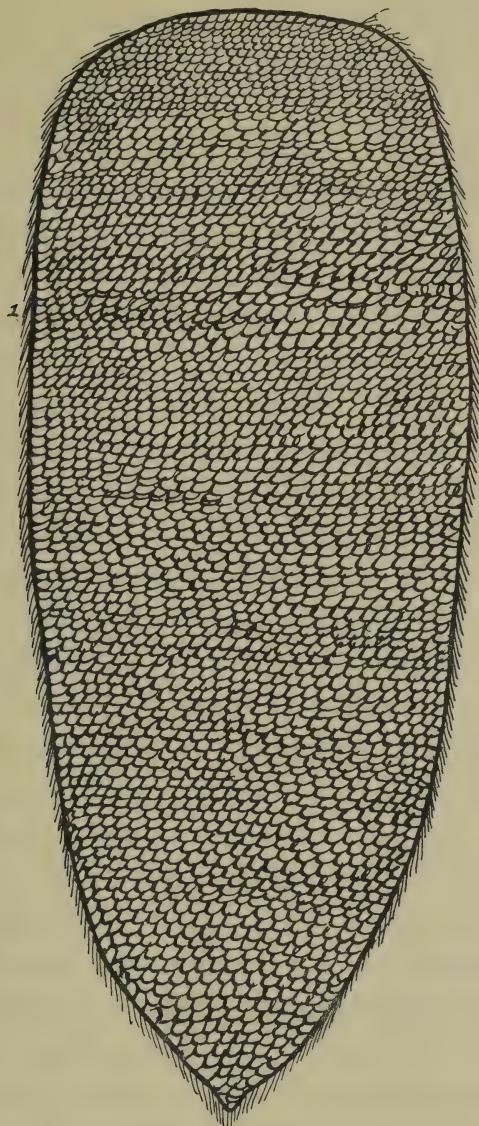
¹ There is a three-quarter page space after this word in the manuscript.

having seen some as Large as an ornairy Calves skin, and to the Northwd. they are very small, they are a Strong creature, their bones well set and Double Jointed, and for the most part brown, some black, & some few white,—they have three pair of stones, or bladders, as the Gendering stones, the Castorum, and which they styl, (weshenow) and the oyly stones or two small bladders which Contains an oyly Substance, which they style (wetuappaca) these Lyes next the Gendering stones the oyly Substance the Natives usses in trapping Rubbing the baits with itt, being Extrodinary good for martins & other Vermin, Espetially Quequahatches,—itt having a Very strong cent,—they are Extrodinary good Eating if young and the tail which is of a Different taste from the other part of the body, I think is the finest Eating in the Country, Cutting firm, its all fat Except a bone in the midle and Very Lucious food;—the tail is the shape of a trovel having a skin with scails Like a fish which is Skind. of before Eatable upon this tail they carry sticks and trees of a great bigness, in the water swiming to their housses with such.

*Beaver
housses*

It's very curious to see the Nature of these Amphibious creatures are indued with;—they have a house they build mostly by creeks or Rivilets, the strength & Curiousness of which house woud puzzle a good workman to do the Like,—the housses are of Different Sizes, which they style (wurst'e,) some being 10 foot above the water & Earth, in the shape of an oven, being all

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 145

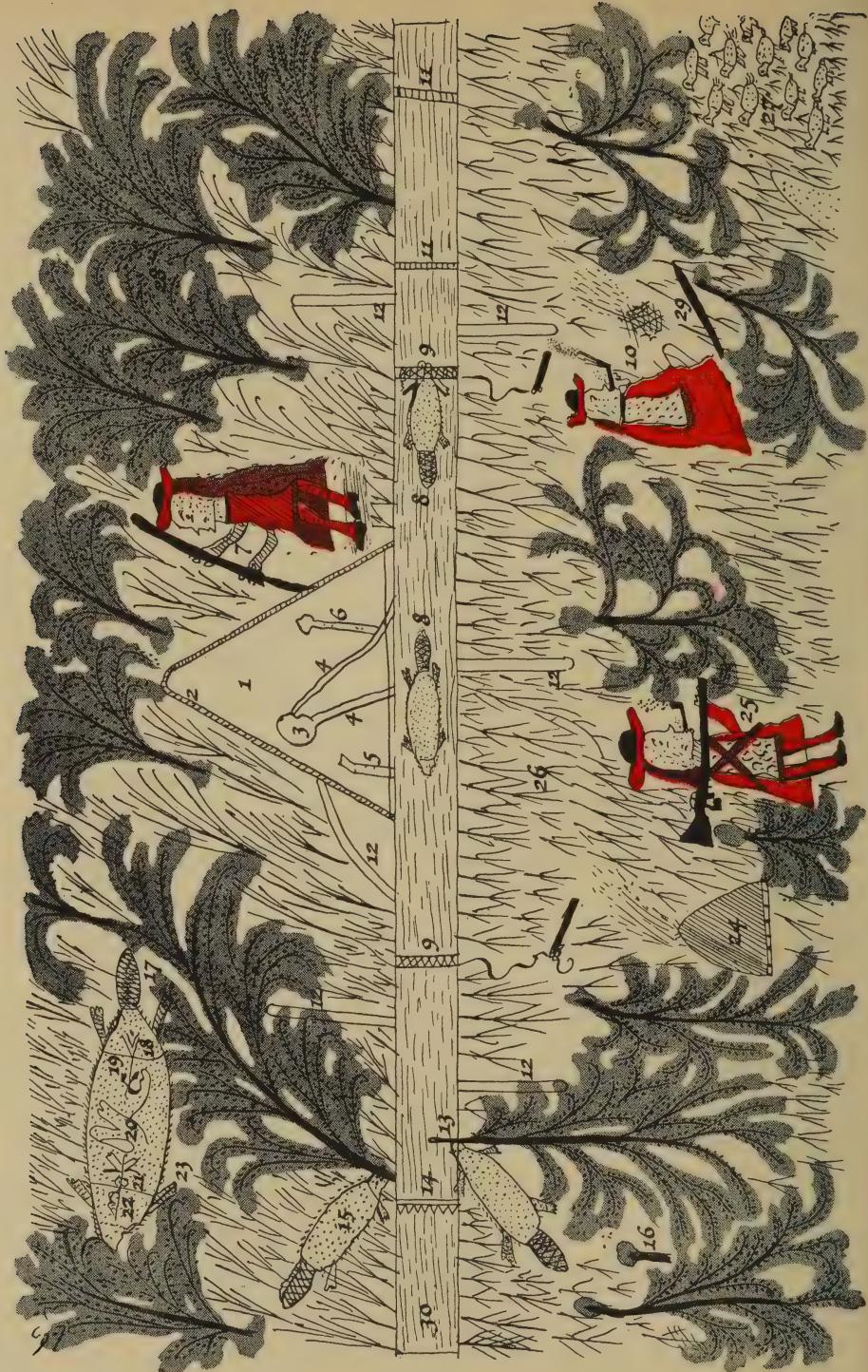


1 a beaver tail of a midle Size or $\frac{3}{4}$ beaver taile.

K

close, and made of Stones sticks and mudd, plaster'd over, which is Done with their tail, the Slave beaver bringing all the Stuff, and Cutts the wood Down,—these Beaver Eats & Cutts downe, Spruce tree's, poplar, borch, willow, Juniper with their teeth, in a Very small time if 6 inches thro, Contriving itt so, that the tree falls in the water, the house is ab'ut 2 foot thick Except about 1 foot Square to the South Side and nigh the top, where it's not above 4 inches thick, the inside is Spatious and Divided into 3 parts, one for their food, another for their Extrements, and the third where they Lye, having water under and Kep't as clean as any human person cou'd do, carrying all filth and Nastiness on one side with their tail, from the place where their head Lyes the water is, which if they here any noise or are frighten'd they make into,—from whence Runs Severall Vaults or sink's, under Land, for 50 Yards in Length about 2 foot under ground, a foot wide and a foot Deep, which after the Natives has opn'd the house they open these Vaults, which they style (woe'tt or wottee) and stake the mouth, or sett a nett, being water in Each Vault, and if the water moves up and Downe they Know the Beaver is their, they then sound a Long to the further End and open's itt by which the Beaver turns back and is trappan'd by the nett;—or if stak't comes out by which they Knock them on the head.—the Beaver always has a “ Dam ” above and below the house, which Supply's them with water at their pleasure, as they may not have too much

to over flow their housses &c.—some of the Dam's where the housses is by a Deep Creek, are 10 or 12 foot, their food is Chiefly willow and poplar tho they Eat Spruce, Juniper, which they procure in the Summer and Lay up a nough in their house that Serves them for the winter, not comming out till march or aprill, if not Disturb'd,—they also trap them by openning their house making a figure of four trap att the hole, or Enterance, Baiting itt with a green willow, taking great care they do not touch that part the beaver is to take with their hands,—wch. they go to take for food, when a heavy Log falls upon them and Kills them, &c.:—they are four years before they Come to the full growth, Distinguishing by Whole, $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ beaver,—in some houses an Indian will Kill 15 or 20 beaver, and in other's not above 2 or 3—When Severall Indians is togeather, they have sett Rules to the Right of the Beaver skin, which is;—if one finds a beaver house, all the Rest goes with and assists him to Kill them, he that found the house having all the skins, and the flesh Equaly Divided, otherwise some wou'd gett all and other's none,—these Beaver Keeps their Colour winter and summer, and are in Season the Longest of any thing in the Country (i.e.) they Gender in Jan'y. and have Young in may and June, some having five and 6 at a time,—It's thought by some they Eat their own Extremets, twice over which they do not, but heave it in the water, as aforemention'd, which with the strong currant of water that is in the



OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 149

(1) A Beaver house; (2) the thickness made of stone, mudd, & wood &c.; (3) where the Beaver Lyes within the house; (4) when the Beaver are Disturb'd, or hear a noise they make into the water, from 3 and 6; (5) where their food Lyes; (6) the half Beaver or small Beaver Lyes; (7) a Indian breaking the house op'n with a Chissel, tied to a Long stick; (8) the Beaver making out of the house hearing a noise and makes to the Vaults; (9) netts sett in the Creek with a string and a stick at the End to catch the Beaver as they come out of the house; (10) a Indian sitting by a fire watching a Nett, with a stick by him to Kill them as he hauls them out; (11) Dam's made by the Beaver, that the water shou'd not Run too fast upon them; (12) Vaults the Beaver makes into when Disturb'd. out of the house, they Run abt. 12 or 14 foot in Land (i.e.) and abt. 2 foot under the Ground, a foot Square & a foot Deep; (13) a Beaver hawling a tree by the teeth into the water; (14) a stop'age made by Inds. with stakes to Keep the Beaver from going into the River; (15) a Beaver cutting a tree Downe with his teeth, wch. Lean's over the water; (16) the stump where cutt Down; (17) the tail of a beaver; (18) the Castor under wch. Lyes the oyly stones or 2 bladder's; (19) the penis and stones; (20) the Gutts or Interials; (21) the heart & Liver; (22) the Lights; (23) the fore feet; (24) Inds. tent in the woods; (25) a Indian going a hunting; (26) willows on the Edge of the creek; (27) a flock of partridges; (28) thick woods; (29) a stick Lying by the Indn. to Kill Beaver &c.; (30) the Creek which Run's into the Large Rivers &c.

i.e. for 50
read 14 foot
P: L:

*the beaver
lying at full
length*

Spring of the year's carry's itt of, Neither do I see any Call or Necessity their is for them to Eat Such when they have a Suffitiency of provender in their Cave or house, was the Nature of the Bear's such a thing might be,— they Living by sucking their paws (see p. [165]) whether their is any such Name to be given to Beast's as

Hymorphatides¹ I can not say, but in comparison of such I have been crediable Inform'd that some of the she Beaver are both femail and maile and some of the he Beaver both male & femail, I have also been Inform'd by severall that some of the Deer, and moose, are the same as above mention'd &c.

Ermin's

Of all the Beast's, fowl's and other Living things in these parts, a Rabbit, an Ermin, and partridge is the only three I Know of that changes their colour to white in the winter,—these Ermin's are Like unto a Wheezell, which the natives Call (she ke shue) they are snow white in the winter wth. a black tip on their tail, and in the Summer they are of a Reddish Brown with white throat and belly, their urine is almost as bad as a Sculks for smell, they Cheifly Live upon mice, Killing also Rabbitts and Partridges, they are great Breeders having 10 and 12 at a time, Breeding once a Year in may and June &c.

mice

Mice here are Chiefly what they call in other parts hog mice, and are Very Numerious in the marshes grouting the ground up with their nose, from which proceeds the name of hog mice (alias) appokosish—I have Known the Natives when sitting in a goose stand to Kill bushels of them, and Carry to the tent for Childn. to play with, not Eating them but in Case of Necessity.

*Ground
squrls'*

Ground squrls' are as big as a small house catt, which

¹ I.e., hermaphrodites.

harbour's in trees and Lives upon pine aple's, another¹ squ'r'l, the size & colour as in England, here is Numerious;

Deer here is of three sorts, the smallest deer, are of the *Deere*
size of our forrest Deer, in England, But not so finely for *3 sorts*
shape and make, another sort their is something Larger,
Both these are Very Numerious, in most parts of the
Country, and Very fatt at Seasons of the year's, being in
august and septr. four inches fatt on the Rump part of
the beast,—their is another sort of a Deer, which is
Large as a horse of 8 or 9 hands high, they are not so
Numerious, as the aforemention'd Deer, they Rutt at
the Latter End of Septr. and october, at which time they
cast their horns, and taste so strong their is no Eating
them NotwithStanding are fattest at that time,—when
the time of Rutting is over, the Natives affirm's for
truth that their pennis Rotts of also Yearly, this I can
not say for truth, tho' have heard Severall affirm itt for
truth,—all these deer being troubled with flesh flies in
Summer Seasons &c. occations the skin's on their back *see p. 171*
to be full of holes, wherefore the skins are Reckond but *[131]*
of Little Value, for otherwise if they woud turn to any *Line 10* *[21]*
advantage to our merchants, with Industry some *see p.*
thousand might be shippe'd for England yearly.—

I had a curiosity gave me by a young Indian who
cou'd not tell me from whence itt came, and itt was a
long time before I cou'd find out what to make of itt,

¹ Almost a half-page space follows this word.

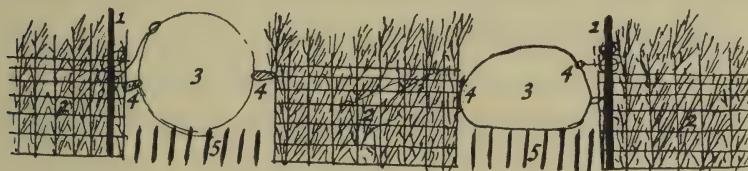
but upon further Enquire, I found from whence he gott itt &c.—itt was a bladder or skin, or the Substance and Colour of a bladder, all close Excep't the upper end, which has a Vacancy op'n of a bout $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch—within this bladdr. or skin of this shape and bigness (1) which is full of fine hair of a flax kind which goes round and



round and parts the Vacant opening (2) where their is some sticking out, itts so full of this hairy substance that itts almost as hard as wood when try'd—this bladder or skin the Natives takes out of a Deer, towards the Lower part of the Neck, next the wine pipe, with the Vacant opening upwards or next the head,—itt's the Buck Deer Chiefly that has such, being few of the she Deer that has any such thing,—I think itt wou'd Resolve the Curiose to tell from whence this hair comes, how, and of what Service itt shou'd be to the beast &c.—these Deer Lives Entirely upon a sort of white mawse the pick of the Dry Ridges, and hill's, and uses the Barren Ground Espetially the small Deer.

Besides these methods of Killing Deer, they snare them as follow's,—their snares are made of Deer, or

other skins Cutt in strips, platting severall things togeather,—they also make snares of the Sinnew's of beast after the same manner, they then make a hedge for one or two mile in Length, Leaving Vacant places,—they then fall trees and Sprig them as big as they can gett, setting one up an End at the side of the Vacant place, fastning the End of the snare to one of these trees, then setting the snare round they Slightly studdy the snare



(1) The trees the snares are tied to (2) the Hedge (3) the Snare (4) Snare Slack tied to the hedge (5) stakes to Keep the Deer from going under.

on Each side, the bottom of the snare being about $2\frac{1}{2}$ foot from the ground, Driving stakes under'ne that they may not creep under, they then Leave them when the Deer being pursued by the Natives other way's they strive to go thro these Vacant places, by which they are Entangld. and Striving to gett away the tree falls Downe, sometimes upon them and Kills them if not they frequently hawl these trees for for some miles tell a growing tree or stump brings them up,—when the Indians going to the snares the next Day, trak's them and Knock's them on the head;—they Killing abundance after this manner, in the winter Seasons,—the Uskemau's

Kills these Deer with Launces in the water, and upon the Land with bows and arrow's.¹

moose

Moose or Elk Deer, more in Land to the So.—their is plenty these are for shape and make much² Like other Deer, but Larger, with short tails &c.

Bufflow

Bufflow, also a pretty in Land, they are of the Size and of Different Colours Like unto our cows² with Long tails, short Curl'd hair, with humps on their backs, (which is cutt out before they Can bring the skin fitt for the use of the Natives &c.) few of these moose or Bufflow are to be seen by the Sea shore, and Seldom any Kill'd., to the Northward of Churchill, tho' when the English first setled in these parts, they was plenty in these parts, but process of time and Continually Dwelling upon the Spott Occation'd their travelling further in Land. Both these are Very good sweet Eating, as to their breeding, they are Like unto Deer or cow's, one and sometimes two at a time.

These bufflowe as also moose being not so swift footed as Deer, the Indians frequently by the great Quanty of snow in the winter, Comes up with them and Knocks them on the head, Nay! have Known the Indian women Kill them by catching them by the tail, and Run fire bran's up their — &c.³

¹ This paragraph was added to pp. 251–2 of the Observations with the marginal note: " p. 195 [152] Comes in after Line 24 [19] ".

² These words are followed by three-quarter page spaces in the manuscript.

³ This paragraph was added to p. 252 of the Observations with the marginal note: " page 198 [154] this comes in after Line 8 [18] ".

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 155

But altho' to the Northward among'st the Northward Indians, and Ehuskemay's they have neither of these beast's,—yet they have another beast which is not to be found to the Southward, which Differ's much from moose or Bufflow, they have thin Long black hair and fur'd Like unto a black bear, with a tail of about 5 inches Long, and of the size shape and make of a welch hiffer, these the natives styles (marte moose) or ugly moose, these are not Reckon'd by the English so good food as the former, the flesh tasting Very much of mus'k, but are Eat by the Natives,—Notwithstanding the meat Looks before Drest as fine as any Ox Beef &c.¹

If only one Indian is by himself when Kill'd a Quantity of Deer, he first Strips the skin of then cutt Each Joint of heaving nothing away. Even the pouch they Eat, turning the Extrements out and filling itt with fatt and blood and Reckon itt good food; they also take all the bones out of the side, and Rump's and Cutt the meat thin,—they then take some poles, on which they hang the meet, making a good fire under, which is Kept turning, tell itt's thoroughly Dryd. which will be a bout 4 Day's they then tie itt in Bundles, and will Keep for years, Notwithstanding fatt on the Rump 4 inches thick,—they Likewise Cure the Heads tongues & feet[?] after the same manner.—The Leg's and thigh's they *Ruhiggan* cure otherways, they cutting all the flesh of the bones, and Cutt itt in slices, which is to be Dryd. in the same

*Northward
Bufflow*

*their
curing of
meet*

¹ An almost full-page space follows in the manuscript.

manner as aforemention'd, this meet when Dry'd they take and pound, or beat between two Stones, till some of itt is as small as Dust, which they styl (Ruhiggan) being Dryd. so much that their is Little moisture in itt;—when pounded they putt itt into a bag and will Keep for several Years, the Bones they also pound small and Boil them over a moderate fire to Reserve the fatt, which fatt is fine and as sweet as any Butter or fatt that is made, moose and Bufflow fatt they Reserve after the same manner in great Quantity's.

Pimmegan

Pimmegan as the Natives styles itt, is some of the Ruhiggan fatt and Cranberries mixd. up togeather, and Reckon'd by some Very good food by the English as well as Natives.¹

*their
method to
find Deer*

But when Severall Indians goes after Deer in the water, they will Clap three or four Cannoes togeather and Cutt the Beast up a Live into peices Each having his share and when they Kill Deer any Distance from the tent, itt's a General Rule with them, at their Returning from huntg. to Stick mawse upon the Bushes or trees, Every 2 or 3 hundd. Yards, or to break a willow, and Lay across his track, by which the women Know's where to find such Deer Killd., if never so many without the men's Going with them.

of foxe's

Foxes of Different Colour's here is, but black foxes Very scarce, if such a thing was Ever seen, which I think Can not well be, on the acct. of the white tip on the tail,

¹ A three-quarter page space follows this word in the manuscript.

as all Colour'd foxe's have,—white foxes has a black tip on their tail, these some Years are Very Numerious, having¹ Catch't. my self between 2 and 3 hundred of a winter w'n. in Season, besides as many Eat out of traps by other's they Coming in Drovess,—I once had 2 Catcht in a Steel trap at one time, one head at Each end, other's having Devour'd the Bodies,—I never coud Learn from the Natives from whence or where these white foxes came from, not Knowing any person that coud give any acct. of them, some Years not being one to be seen;—I have Knowne & observ'd, after bad weather with an Easterly wind, they have been plenty;—that they shoud cross over the ocean so many miles I think is not Likely, tho' they have been severall Leagues from the shores I am of that opinion they come all from the Northe'rn parts, they being seen here mostly upon the Sea shores, being few or any in Land,—they have been Really so plenty I have Catch't between night and night, three Doze'n, they are most an End Very fatt, and are Eat by the Natives tho not by the English.

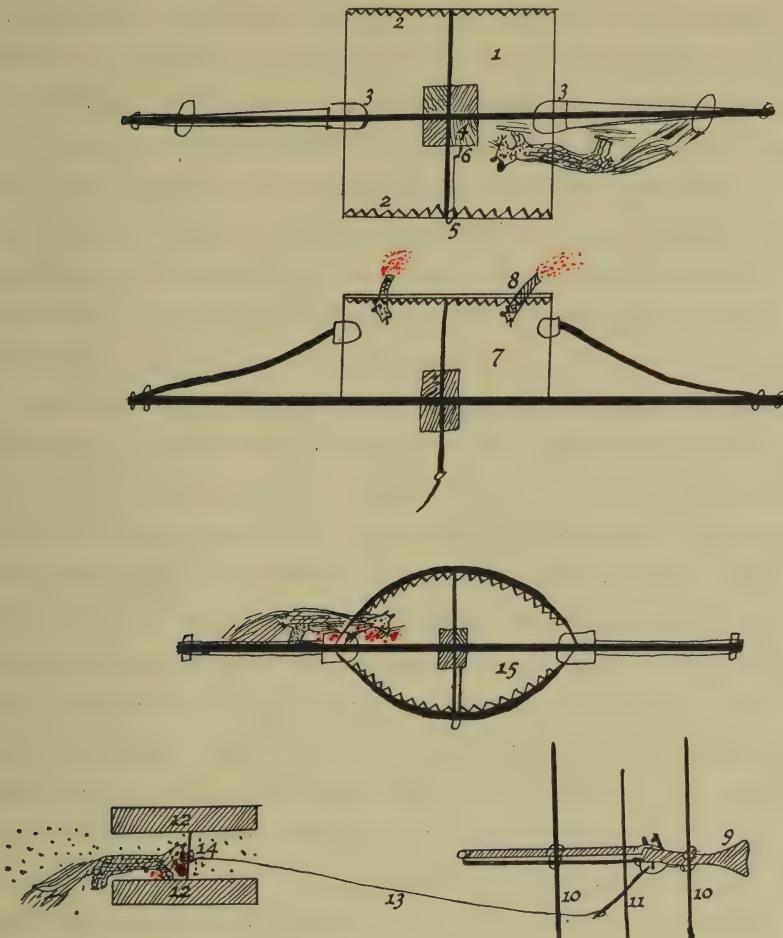
Their is severall sorts of trap's which is made use of in *Steel traps* these parts to catch Vermin, as steel or Iron traps, which have a trigger in the midle which Keeps the chaw's Downe catching by a Notch in the midle, by the baite where the baite is fastn'd on,—which when the Vermin takes, the plate falls on one side, by which the springs forces the Chaws up, by which they are trapp'd, their

¹ A quarter-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

being teeth in the chaw's 2 inches Long, these are Sett upon the snow and cover'd with snow all but the baits and Spring's, and a Very good way, But I think not so good as a setting gunn, which is this.

The gunn in the first place must have the best Lock that Can be made, by reason of their being all weather's otherwise are Lyable to Snap, or miss fire, by which the Vermin goes of and itt makes them shy from taking a baite hereafter;—they are most an End short guns for handiness,—this gunn is first Lash'd to two Stakes, or trees, with a stake on one side of the Britch of the gunn, abou't one foot Distance, where the trigger stick is tied to,—then taking the Distance 10 yards for the baite, wher a stick is sett up to take sight at, 6 inches Long for a fox or Quiquahatch, if for a wolf 18 inches, Levelling the gunn to the top of the stick, then take Ice, snow, or Logs, and make a trench, on Each side the baite 4 foot Long having the baite in the midle, which trench must be at Least one foot wide and 2 foot high, and must answer in a Streight Line with the gunn, for if the trench is too wide the Vermin are ap't to take the baite sideways by which they are wounded and make of,—but before this is Done, their must be a stick where the baite is to be with a No'ch or hole in the midle of the trench, for the Line to go thro', which Line goes from the baite and ties to the trigger stick,—when tie'd fitt the trigger stick in the Gaurd, on the fore part of the trigger, then prick prime, and put the hammer Downe, and

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 159



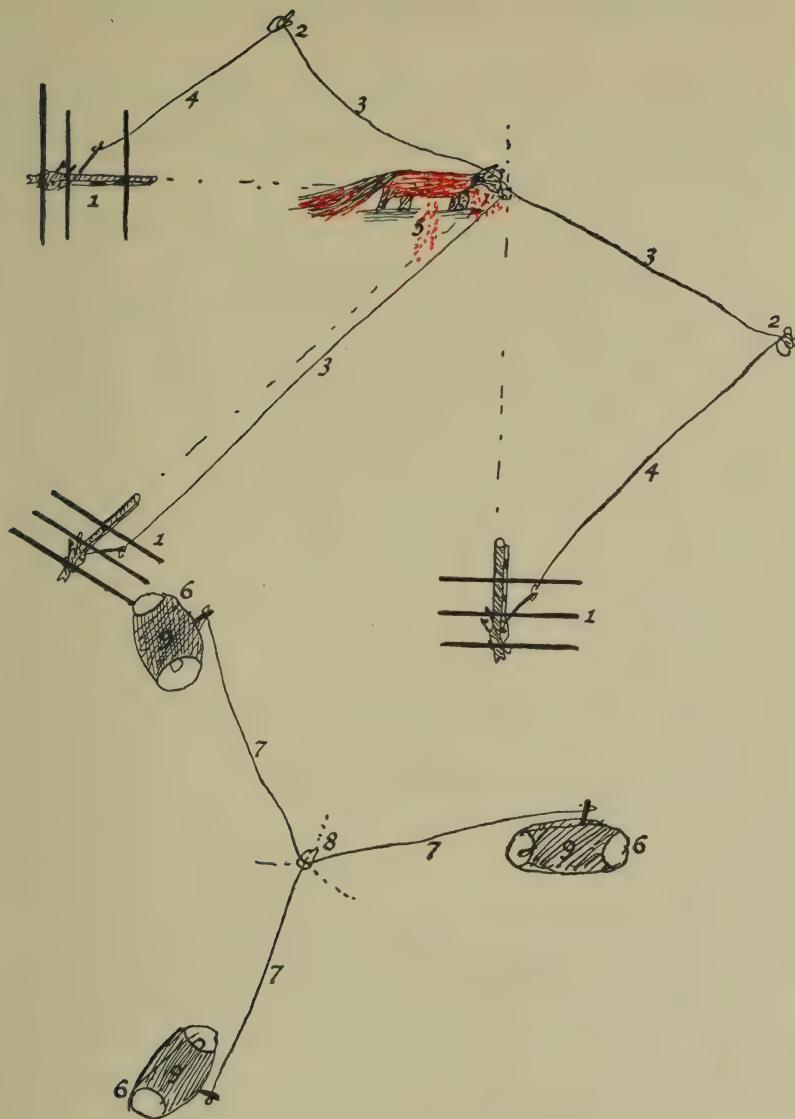
(1) Trap sett (2) the chaw's (3) the springs (4) the plates for the baite (5) the trigger (6) the notch (7) a trap up (8) 2 foxes catcht. (9) a gun (10) posts its tied to (11) a post where the trigger stick is tied to (12) the sides of the trench (13) the Line (14) a Cross stick where the Baite is with a hole in't (15) a round Chawd trapp &c.

Cock the Gun, then tie a whood over the Lock of the gun to Keep the snow from harbouring about itt, but so that itt must not touch the Lock,—and this is the way of a setting gunn, and great care must be taken in travell'g that a person does not come athough't one in the night; Likewise when go to clean a gunn, they must be sure to untie the string put the hammer up and Let the Cock Downe,—then clean the snow from the baite some having been in Danger of their Lives, and have Lost their finger's &c. for the want of this prud. care.

When Vermin is shy and will not take these trap's, we use other methods which is this,—we sett three guns in a triangle for'm, with false bait's a Different way from the Real baite, which the gunn points att, Covering the Lines from the Real baite to where the block's are at the Real baite, But if this does not answer which sometimes Does not Vermin being so Very shy, we use this Last method, which is take 3 cask's and Lash 3 gun's within them, the muzzle not to come out of the cask only a hole Something bigger then the muzzle, with the Lines also Cover'd with snow,—which is the two only way's I Know to cat'ch shy Vermin,—and these guns in the Cask has took when triangle Guns and other's wou'd not, having us'd Severall other methods but to no purpose,—here being nothing seen but the Cask's and baite being but one baite to the three gun's.

Log traps

Take for this Log trap, abo'ut 12 stakes, or according to the size the trap is to be,—these stakes are put Deep

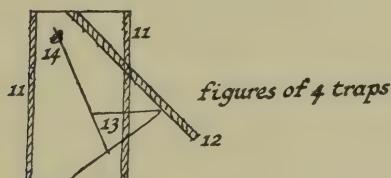
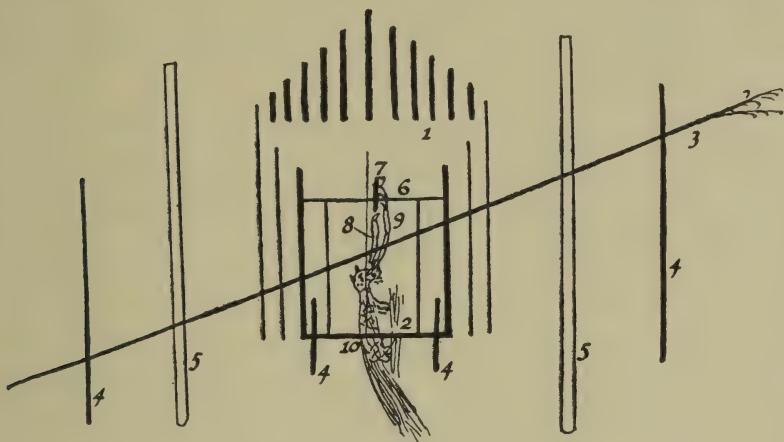


(1) Is 3 Guns Sett in a triangle form (2) false bait's (3) the Lines cov'd. with snow (4) the Lines not coverd [illegible] & where their is Blocks they run thro (5) the Vermin taking the baite (6) 3 cask's with pistols sett in them 9 (7) the Lines under the Snow (8) the baite.

in the ground and Sett rounding behind and Square before, being one foot wide and two foot Deep, having a piece of wood on the front, which goes across and Serves for a throat Log—and a Long piece which goes on that which is calld. a neck Log, having 2 Stakes fasten'd in the ground before, which Keeps them from falling foreward, and the main Support of the trap, upon the front stakes of the trap their is a peice Lyes a Cross where the baite stick Lyes on and is Supported by a string from the Neck Log, to the outer End of the baite stick, and the inner End of the baite stick is where the baite hangs on a peg, on the inside of the back of the trap, which Supports that end of the baite stick,—on the Neck Log Lies 2 heavy Log's which are Calld. fall'n Logs, on Each side, which when the Vermin takes the baite, the neck Log falls with these heavy Logs on itt, which trappans the Vermin between the Neck Log and throat Log not being able to move the weight breaking their bones and squeezes them as thin as a Lath.—the same sort of traps are sett up with Sampson's posts' which is a stick the Length of the trap, for a baite Stick, and another Stick which supports the Neck Log standing upon the throat Log, with the end of the baite stick between the throat Log and neck Log,—their is other trap's of the same make all the Difference being made mostly of Ice with only 4 stakes &c.

One more trap their is a figure of 4 trap, which is 2 Logs Squar'd for the sides, and a Log for the top of one

foot wide, which is call'd a figure of 4 trap being sett up with 3 sticks in the shape of a figure of 4 the top Log



- (1) The trap (2) throat Log (3) neck Log (4) Support to them, on the front (5) falling Log's (6) Cross piece (7) baite stick (8) supports the neck Log to the baite stick (9) a string from the peg where the Baite is to the inner part of the baite stick (10) a Wolfe taking the baite (11) Side Logs (12) falling Log 1 ft. wide (13) 3 sticks which Supports the falling Log (14) the baite.

falls upon the Vermin which is the safest trap to Keep Vermin from being Eat; but the ill Conveniency of them is, a Little snow Drifting in hinder's them from

catching, and Very troublesome in Cold weather to sett up,—they are fittest to be made in thick woods where their is no Drift, they Seldom made by the Natives, by Reason they can make three other trap's while they are making one of these.

of Dog's

Dog's are of great service to the Natives in hawlg. Sleds, and carrying of Burthen's also when they are¹ hunting Beaver they turn the Dogs into the house, who wurries the Beaver into the Vaults, imagining the Dogs can not come at them their, by which means the Indians open's the Vault's and Catches them—these Dogs are also of great service to the English in hawling provision's when they Lye abroad from the fort, one Dog being able to hawle a fortnights provision's for 2 men &c.

martins

Martins are Very Numerious in some parts one Indian Killing 3 and 4 hundred a Winter, they are Catch't mostly in Log trap's, and are² not Eat for constancy, tho the Natives Eats them frequently, they are Like a Rabbit when Dressd. and cutt the head and tail of cou'd not Distinguish one from the other, they have a fine soft furr, and next to a catt for beauty and Value, they Live chiefly upon mice Rabbits &c.: they have Commonly 3 and 4 at a Litter, breeding once a Year, itts Very Difficult to bring these up tame,—they being Subject to a sort of fitts, which Kills them if but once Effected with them.

¹ A three-quarter page space follows this word in the manuscript.

² A half-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

Otter's are not so plenty as the former, harbouring *otters* mostly in holes on the side of creek's and Lake's, where fish are, being their Chiefest pray, they are not Eat by the natives, and are the Size shape and make as in other parts,—they haw'l their Legs after them when travel, and their tail trag's upon the Ground.

Jackashe's is the size, shape, make & colour of a martin, *jackashes* Excepting the tail, not being so Bushy and full of hair, Neither do they walk so Clean trailing their tail also upon the snow when travel they are Scarce and Seldom Eat.

Black bear's their is a pretty many and some Very Large, Espetially the Grizel bears which will Seize a man if Come in his way having Known¹ an Indian tore in a Sad manner with one, they are Extrodinary good food, and Very fatt in the winter, they have 2 and 3 at a Litter Gendering in may & Breeding in June and July, as the Natives say's which I can not Readily blieve,—they have holes or Caves in the ground, or under the snow, where they Live all winter, Leaving a small hole at top for air, which is what they find them by: killing them in the same holes; they not comming out tell aprill, Living all the winter by Sucking thier paw's, and are fattest at that time, in the Summer they Live upon Berries and Grass.

White bear's make's in Land for the winter in Septr. and October, where they harbour under Drift banks of snow and Suck their paw's as the black bears do for three

*white
bear's*

¹ A three-quarter page space follows this word in the manuscript.

month's in the winter, travelling about the Rest of the time Eating grass and mawse,—in march and Aprill they make Downe to the sea againe with their young ones, breeding in the fall, (sept'r.) these are Very bad food tho the Natives Eats them frequent, mixing the fatt with Ruhiggan.

sculk's

Sculk's are much the Size of a tame Catt, being black with a white Circle round their back's, a pretty skin anough but are of no Great Value, they are but Scarce,—when these are at any time persu'd by any thing, they Cast their uri'n, which has such an Obominable smell, their is no comming within a mile of them, Indians stopping their nostera'l's when they skin them,¹ they sometimes Eat them when they can Skin them without the uri'ne touching the flesh.

White whale

White whale which they style (wappameg) is Very Numerious, here in the Summer time for about 6 weeks, seeing them at a time some thousands,—what few is here Killd. is Entirely for Lamps &c.—not being Eatable, they Live Chiefly upon small fish ab't the size of sprats, I take itt,—these small fish being so perdigous Numerious, being with a gale of wind Several Cart Loads cast upon the shore's—for the Generalitys of ¹ these whales are from 10 to 16 foot in Length.

seals

Seals, are also plenty, seeing 20 or 30 at a time Lying for 48 hours togeather in the spring of the year, but never cou'd gett any, having tryd. Several methods to

¹ A half-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

Entrap them, when so Lying a Sleep upon the Ice;—
Both these fishes Sink's as Soon as Kill'd. which I take
to be by their Great Quantity of Blubber or fatt being
more pondrous than the flesh.

Muskerat's are for shape and make of a Beaver, but *muskerats'*
smaller Building houses after the same manner, about
3 foot high which houses are most and End in ponds and
Swamp's, in the plain's, they are great Breeder's, having
5 and 6 at a time, and ¹ Breeds 3 times of a Year,—in the
month of may their stones are fitt for curing, being
then at the highth of the perfume scen't, they are not
Eat by the natives, for Constancy, their's some that
Keeps by creeks and Lakes, and are Knockt' on the
head being a Slow creature, they will not take traps as
others do,—their skins are not Regarded, tho' well
furr'd, and the Colour of a Beaver, but shorter haird &
furr.

In Rivers and Creek's of greater Depth then 16 foot
fishes are Catch't all the winter, by cutting holes thro'
the Ice Downe to the water, which Ice is some times 3 or
4 yards thick, and therein putting Lines and Hooks, by *of fishe's*
which the fish comes to the holes for air, and are thereby
Entangled,—Netts are also sett under the Ice, when the
Ice is not above 6 or 8 foot thick, Cutting severall holes
in a Streight Line the Length of the Nett, passing the
nett fastn'd to a Long pole by the upper part from hole
to hole, then makg. itt fast, Let itt stand for 8 hour's,

¹ A half-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

then haw'l itt, Catching some Dozens at a haw'l, the fishes comming to the hole for air, are thereby Entang'ld in the Nett.—and as soon as Brought into the op'n air, nay! before well Lay'd. upon the Ground, are froze as stiff as stockfish; the fishes that are Catcht' so in the winter time are Jack, tench, Carb, and merthy &c.: and by hooking only jack, pike, trout, and perch,—But Creeks of Lesser Depth then 16 foot are froze to the Ground, by which the fishes therein perish'd.—Great Quantitys of fishes are also Destroyd by the Ice at the Breaking up of the River's, and Creek's, the pike are Large having seen some to weigh 19 & 20 lb. and a tickomeg taken out of their stomach 14 inches in Length.

*jack and
pike*

Sturgeon

Of sorts of fishes in these parts 2 I have mentiond, this part abounding with plenty of fish, as Jack, & pike, of a Large size as just Observd. being some 4 foot in Length, &c.:—Sturgeon¹ I have seen 7 foot 4 inches from the tail to the head, these are Catch't, by the Natives in Wair's,—made after the same manner as in other parts', and are not so plenty as jack by the Sea shore, But in Land where Lakes and Rivers are Very Numerious,—the Glue the Natives saves out of the Sturgeon is Very strong and good, they use itt in mixing with their

¹ At a later period specimens of sturgeon, merthy [burbot], tickomeg [gwyniad] and sucker [carp] collected in Hudson Bay were sent to the Royal Society and were examined by John Reinhold Forster. His findings dated January 12, 1772, from No. 2 Somerset Stable-yard, Strand, are contained in the pamphlet: *An Account of some Curious Fishes, sent from Hudson's Bay; by Mr. John Reinhold Forster, F.R.S. In a Letter to Thomas Pennant, Esq.; F.R.S. (London, 1773).*

OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY 169

paint, which fixes the Colours' so they never Rub out &c.

Mer'thy (as the Natives styles itt,) are a fish Resembles *merthy* an Eal in taste, they are muddy fish and skin's¹—the Same as an Eal, but of a Different shape, these are plenty, they are fine Eating in a pye with pork &c.

Tickomegg which is Like a herring is also Very *tickomeg* Numerious, Catching with a Setting net, in the Summer season, when they come from the sea into the Rivers to spawn, some hundreds, and with a sean some thousands at one haw'l, they are a Very soft fish but good Eating, we preserve them with salting as also jack pike trout & perch for the winter time,—perch here is the same as in England, Carp and tench very plenty, silver trout and Sammon trout Very Numerious, and Large, Sammon here is at this River and along the North Coast some Year's Very plenty for ab't 3 months (vizt. from the 1 June to the Last of augt.) Oystor shells I have seen many but never see the Oystor's or any substance in them, Mussels Very many being some 100d. Bushells to be gott under the shore's, also Crawfish and Srimbs has been seen here but scarce, their sculpins but very small with prickly back's, but Never see any Eat,—some Year's we have in the Summer after a hard gale of wind tood. upon the shores, and Left in the Cavety's of the Rocks at Ebb tide, and within ten Yards of the shore Very Numerious of Smelt's, Large and fine Eating the *smelt's*

¹ A quarter-page space follows this word in the manuscript.

same as in England,—and I do not Doubt but cod fish might be cau'ght of these River's mouth, having been 2 formerly Catch't, no person having tryd. Since.

The method of Dressing their fish is to boil, or broil them, and sometimes they stick them on a stick, before the fire and Roast them, being no Salt amongst these Natives in these parts' they therefore use other methods in Curing meet fish &c.

*see page
200 [155]*

*fresh'ning
provisions*

The English in these parts fresh'n their salt provisions in River's Lakes and Creek's, for the Season which is about 7 month's, cutting a hole in the Ice about 10 foot over, which is constantly Every Day Kep't op'n, in which their provisions hangs by a Line, tied to a pole which Lyes across the hole, which meat being hard froze is no sooner put into this hole, but itt grow's pliant and Soft, the water Drawing the frost out which hangs on the outside 2 inches thick, and more. which must be tak'n of, or wou'd take a much Longer time before freshn'd, nay! not fresh'n a'tal.

*meet &c.
Kept 7
months
fresh*

Beef, Pork, Venison &c.: that are Kill'd. the begining of octobr. are preservd. by the frost 7 month's in the year Entirely free from putrifaction and proves tollerable good Eating, as also Geese, partridges or any other fowl's, that are Kill'd at the same time and Kept with their feathers and Cutt's in, Requires no other preservation to make them good and sweet but the frost, and Wholesome Eatg. as Long as the frost continues, all Kind of fishes &c. are preserv'd after the same manner.

A Very great conveniency here at this place, is the wanting of good sweet water,—their having been no *no Spring* spring found as yet, (one of the Chiefest supports to Nature.) Notwithstanding severall fathom's Dug Down;—neither Do I think itt possible itt shou'd otherways be, when spirits &c. freezes as before observd.

All the water we use for cooking, Brewing, &c. is melted snow and Ice—in Land being froze by the begining of 8r. and so continues tell the midle of may, which melted snow is Brackish on acct. of its Drifting with the winds over a Large branch of the sea, and Very full of sand Gravel by the Sea shore where we Live.

In the woddn. Building's or Log houses they are *woddn. houses* obligd. to Keep fire all Day, in the winter time,—for our firing we use all wood which is fell in the winter and hawl'd out, and Rafted home in the Summ'r in Great quantity's, two piles of 160 yds. Curcumference, and the Length or hight 20 foot will but serve a winter season to burn the trees are taller further to the So. then they are amongst these Rocks to the Northwd. Growing short and thick &c. &c.

*Yorkfort*A Discription of York Fort¹ Hays's River Vizt.²*the fort
with brick
stoves*

The Wall's of our housses we here Live in are 2 foot thick of Stone,—the windows small with 3 inch wooden shetter's, which is Close shutt 18 hour's Every Day, in the winter,—four Large fires are made in Large Brick stoves (Build for that purpose) Every Day, which as soon as the wood is Burn't Downe to a coal, the top of the chimnley is close stop't with an Iron Cover, this Keeps the heat within the housses, tho' at the same time the smoa'k makes our heads to ac'h, and Very offendive

¹ Robson, *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudsons-Bay*, p. 30, "YORKFORT [circa 1745] stands above high-water-mark, about eighty yards from Hayes's-river, and four miles from the sea. It is built with logs of white fir eight or nine inches square, which are laid one upon another. In the summer the water beats between the logs, keeping the timber continually damp; and in the winter the white frost gets through, which being thawed by the heat of the stoves, has the same effect: so that with the water above and the damp below, the timber both of the foundation and superstructure rots so fast, that in twenty-five or thirty years the whole fort must be rebuilt with fresh timber, which with the great quantity used for firing, will occasion a scarcity there in a few years. See also Robson's description of York Fort in *Report from the Committee, Appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the Trade carried on there* (London, 1749), p. 215.

² A space of two and a half pages follows this word.

and unholesome,—Notwithstanding of which in 4 or 5 hour's after the fire is out and the chimnly still close stop't, the inside of the wall of our housses are 6 or 8 inches thick of Ice, which is Every Day cutt away with Hatchetts,—three or 4 times of a Day we make Iron shott of 24 lb. weight hott in the fire, and hang up at the window's of our appartments, yet will not hinder a 2 Gallon Botle of water freezing by the fire side as already observ'd.—Cellors we have in the Said housses under the stoves 10 & 12 foot Deep, wherein we Keep wine Beer &c.: tho not clear from the frozt,—and in the wett Seasons full of Water &c.

The Following is a Discription of Prince of Wales's Fort Churchill River Ehuskemay point.¹

This fort is situated upon Low Land between the maine & Ehuskemay point, which high Rocky ground,

¹ See Robson, *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*, p. 9, "A Draught of Churchill River, Latd. 59°00' North, Var. 16°40' West." The Draught is reproduced in Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, p. 112. See also *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), pp. 215-16, Joseph Robson: "That Prince of Wales's Fort, when finished, will mount about Thirty-seven Cannon, and is 300 Feet from Bastion Point to Bastion Point, and is built of Stone, and coming down in many Places; that the Company's chief Factor built the Fort, under whose Directions the Witness was employed in the Execution of the Masonry, and built a Part of the East and South Bastions, about Eight Foot high, which stands very well: This was, some

(i.e.) 24
pounders
Each

(1) the River bears NE: & S:Wt: (2) on the South shore is Cape merry¹ high bold Land, Distance from the fort abou't one mile,—upon the point of the Cape is a Lodge house and a Battery of 8 Cannon (i.e.) which Cannon are to annoye a ship before she Reaches the fort, (17) and after past the fort (18) Deep water Close to the Cape, but the Rock's being high on the upper side of the Cape, can not bear these cannon upon a ship when at anchor 16: therefore (11) is a Battery of 3 Cannon upon ward's mount, near Cuckles point which Bear's upon a ship at anchor 16: also (19) is a Battery of Six Cannon which Bears both upon a ship when at anchor, also before a ship Reaches the fort and after past, (3) the fishing point, (4) Goose Rige which is opposite to (8) where the old fort² stood before the stone fort was build (5) Bears point,

of it, built in the Year 1733, and was covered with a Timber Parapet, which was taken down as the Stone Work could be erected. And being asked, If the Coldness of the Climate was not the Reason of the Stone Work's falling down? he said, If that had been the Case, the Work executed by him (the Witness) would have come down as well as the rest; that the Stone Work fell down both in Winter and Summer; that the Mortar scales off in Winter; but that the Stone which is all rough and hard, stands the Winter; that the Orders sent by the Company for repairing the Forts were proper, but the Witness was contradicted by the chief Factor; nor had he Hands to execute them."

¹ Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, p. 146, James Knight's journal, August 9, 1717, "... A Man came up from Iskemay Point . . . wch hereafter I shall call point Look out, wch is the North Point of ye River, & ye South Side shall name round point". But the south side was later named Cape Merry after Captain John Merry, Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1712-28.

² The "old fort" was established by Captain James Knight in 1717, and in accordance with instructions issued by the Governor and Committee on June 4, 1719, it was named "Prince of Wales Fort" (A. 6/4, fo. 30). The site for the stone fort, also known as Prince of Wales's Fort, was chosen by Richard Norton in August, 1731. Sites of both forts are shown on Robson's "Draught of Churchill River"; see p. 173, n. 1.

Distn. from the fort ab't 9 mile (6) muskeeter point (7) shools Between muskeeter point & bears point, (8) fishing point (10) whale Cove (12) Butlers Cove¹ (13) Norton's cove¹ where is a fine harbour for the wintering of ships &c.:—(14) whale point, (20) a Store house for housing goods &c.: in bad weather Dists. from the fort ab't 400 yds. (21) the maine Land, (22) a Ravelling or Solid stone work, before the gate, (23) Bu'rring places, (24) the Garden, (25) wodden housses for stores &c. (26) the Lime Kiln,—The Battery above mention'd with the Cannon on the Rampert I think is Suffitient to guard the River from a powerfull Enemy, and in Case of shipping Comming on the N.Wt. side of the fort (27) which is Burton's Bay, the 6 Cannon at 19 may be run over to the opposite side 28, wch. Bears upon a ship 29: these four battery's is I look upon to be of more Service then all the cannon within the fort, the mouth of the River being so narrow a ship must pass within point blank,—then being Low and in a manner Level with the water, must certainly annoye an Enemy, better then Cannon mounted on a wall 15 or 16 foot high, &c.:—below the fort (30) is Low and narrow, Every flood tide over flow's that their is no Going to 31 Ehuskemay point, only at Low water time, and above the fort (32) is also Narrow which with a gale of wind and spring tides, the water meet's across, and makes the Spot where the fort

¹ Presumably named for John Butler and Richard Norton, who were members of the advance party sent to Churchill River by Captain James Knight in June, 1717. See Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, pp. 69–70.

stands on an Is'lan'd wherefore with some Charge and Little trouble, the said spott where the fort Stands might be made an Is'land. by Cutting a passage thro' the said Narrow Spaces of ground, Deep anough for the water to have a Communication out of the Bay into the River, at Low water time with a Draw bridge at Each place, Likewise (15) the swash or barr opposite the Narrow spott 32 with Little trouble might be made a fine Landing place for Craft; being a barre at presant which is Dangerous in Landg. and Ruination to all Craft &c.

The fort will be of Suffitient strength when finish'd.! (which I beleve never will) being build of stone, the Rampert 38 foot wide with a Stone parapet of 6 foot, the Square A.B.C.D. 400 Yards, as to perticulars a Scaile of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 5 Yards will Explain the flank's faces &c.:— within the fort (33) is a house 100 foot in Length, and 30 foot wide, which house is Divided into 3 parts, 2 Dwelling housses and a warehouse in the midle, (34) is sheds Built against the Interior wall of the S Et. Curtain, for cooking and Stables &c.: (35) a we'll 15 foot Deep being of great Service in Suplying the fort with water for cooking, & washing, but not fitt to Drink being thick and bad tasted, (36) a Bellfry,—(37) Vaults in Bastions archd over 40 foot Long 10 foot wide & $7\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, (38) a Magazine, (39) the Gate way, (40) the Stockades, 26 foot from the Rampert (41) is Low Stockadoes from the Rampert to the outer stockade, to

Keep the Natives from going round the inner works,—
 (42) the North goose point, beyond which more
 particulars of hereafter, in the Observations amongst
 the Northern Indians &c. &c. (page [below])—the
 circumference of the Spott where the fort stands
 between the narrow parts (30) & 32, is about one mile
 & the Widest part over 400 yards.

The following is a small acc't of the (wechepowuck)
 Indians¹ or Indians to the Northwd. of Churchill River,
 towards the copper mines &c.:—

These Indians which we call Norther'n Indian's, are
 not nigh so Numerous as them further to the
 Southwar'd, believing their not to be above 1000
 family's they are for shape and complexion much the same as the other's aforemention'd, but something taller and Clean Lim'd,—itt's but of Late Years that they have been Brought to trade at the English Settlements, and not Compleated Yet,—they are not of that ambitious Nature as the Indians further to the Southward Dressing Very plaine; using their former Custom's, Seldom trading any finery for Such usses But what they traffick for is Chiefly necessary's for Life, such as powdr. shott Guns &c.

¹ Cf. Appendix B, p. 311.

*Disfiguring
themselves*

Their is one thing Very Remarkable in these Indians, which Distinguishes them from any other Country Indian's, which is,—Both men and women and Childn. has three Long black strokes upon Each Chee'k, which is Done with gunn powder or coal by pricking the Skin &c. as in page [102] some also has a stroke upon their chin and across their nose.

*Langh.
Diffict.
to Learn*

Their Language is seemingly very Difficulty to understand, some words having so many meanings, Confutes the Learning of their tongue, Neither is their any yet that has Learn't their tongue as to hold in conversation with the Said Indian's upon any Subject, Knowing Little more then the Names of goods they traffick in &c.

*Land
Carriadge**few goods**of the
copper
mines*

These Natives has not the conveniency of cannoes, comming chiefly by Land, and making floots to cross the Creek's, and River's, being Deep & full of Great falls; tho' do make cannoes further in Land,—their comming by Land is the occation of their bringing but few goods, being some that is nigh 24 months or moon's, advancing to the English fort to trade. these are the further most Northern Indians, next to what they call the Copper Indians, so call'd from the Copper they find upon the border's of their Country, they melting the oa'r, and clean the Dross from itt, then beat the metle into Several form's, as hand cuffs, head pieces &c: I have seen Several pieces of this Copper and the oa'r, when first found, pure virgin Copper.

Upon Enquiring how many month's or moon's itt wou'd take an English man to go to their Country, or to where they gett the copper, some Inform'd me 18 month's, other's 12 months others 2 Years, so Never Cou'd Gett the truth, But this I believe a man might go one Summer and be back the summer following, by their acc't itt Lyes ab't Wt.NWt. or NN Wt. of Churchill River,—where they gett this copper is nigh the Sea shore, they do not Gett itt from under the Surface of the ground, but pick the oar up Lying upon the Surface of the ground, Scattering here and there and not Very thick togeather, itt's Low Land and Rocky, plaine Ground by the Sea shore but fine woods, Swamps, and plains further up the Country, the Lakes and Rivers near the ocean some affir'm, are fast all the Summer; the Ice *rivers never ope'n* never breaking up, which I can not credit for in answer to Such—they come for the English Setlements, in the Spring of the year, and by then they return to their Country back againe, the winter is Sett in with the Usual freezing cold weather, which makes them Imagine the Rivers are never ope'n, because they had been op'n while they was absent, and fast againe at their Return,—this I think must be their mistake; for Even the freshes that comes out of the River's and out of the plains &c. in the Spring of the Years, wou'd break the Ice up in wide Deep River's, much more in shole narrow River's,—or the Stoppage of water by the frozen Ice wou'd over flow

*their
Country*

the marshes and Low Lands, and that they say they are Seldom troubled with.

But I think there can be no true Ide'a given of these Copper Indians Country, or the min'e unless further Discovery be made Either by Land or by Sea;—and Certainly itt must consist with Reason, itt might sooner be Discover'd by Land then by Sea,¹ and not be at that immence charge and Danger ship's are at their first setting out to Discover what they never Knew ought of my Reason for itt is this,—two Experienc'd men that is of a healthy Constitution, and can Endure hardships is Suffitient for this undertakg. by Land, one to converse with the Natives the other to understand Navigation in order to take observations of all Lake's, River's, &c. where and in what Latitude such River's Land mark's &c; are that proper shipping might be fitted out with a great Deal more safety and Likelyhood of Discovering the said Country, then otherwise they might, providing they did not inspect into Such by Land first, &c:—it's not unlikely if a passage had been Discov'd in 1741² but

¹ Captain James Knight's ill-fated expedition had made the attempt by sea in 1719 for the "Discovery of a Passage beyond Sir Thos Buttons, which is supposed to Lye to the northwards of 64 degrees, in order to Enlarge & Improve ye Comps trade with A Discovery [of] Severll mines according to ye Information of Indians . . . & allso to Establish A Whale fishery . . ." (Cited by Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 142). The discovery by land was to be left to Samuel Hearne. See J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean in the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1911).

² This refers to Captain Middleton's expedition. See Introduction, p. lii, and Appendix C, p. 331.

the ships wou'd have fell in with the Copper Indians Country.

Being troublesome times in England¹ Now, must certainly be the occation why our merchants of England Does not make further Discovery's to the northward, of Churchill, having at presant anough to do to mentain & Support the Settlements already in their possession &c.

These Northern Indians being the Last Yet Discover'd to the Northward Except the Ehuskemay's, who before the English Setled here us'd frequently to come to Churchill River or Ehuskemay point so Call'd, from their g'raves and mark's of their Dwellings, some of which are still Remaining;

These Ehuskemays, or (Uskemaw's) are pretty Numerous towards whale cove, Sr. Bybie's Island² &c: —the Chiefest Commodity's they procure is oyl, blubber, and Whale bone &c: being not Brought to any great trade as yet, no more then the above mention'd,— Beasts of Value they have in their Country of Severall sorts, Such as Wolves, Welvereen's, foxes, martins, &c: therefore it's not to be Disputed but their is fine woods with Swamp's, plains &c: further in Land, or further up their Country—martin's Seldom or Ever harbouring in plaine Rocky Ground,—for which and other Reason's .

¹ England had become involved in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). See p. 204, n. 1.

² South of Whale Cove and Mistake Bay and now named Sir Bibby Island. It was originally named after Sir Bibye Lake, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1712-43.

182 OBSERVATIONS ON HUDSONS BAY

not here mention'd, a Setlement amongst these Natives might turn to great advantage in a few year's.

The following is a Discription of the Lake's, River's &c: as I had itt from the Northward Indians, as they go from Churchill River to their Country, or to where the Copper min'd is & the Coast a Long shore as far as Wager River & up itt into the So. or Wt. Seas &c.¹

¹ This word is followed by a space of one and three-quarter pages.

*A SMALL ACCT. OF THE NORTHERN INDIAN
LANGUAGE*

Beads in Generall	E'chu see
Ketles	Tellee
Shott	dell thye'
Ball	tell ke the que
Beaver shott	chaw tell ke thee
tobacco	che thell tue'ie
paint	chee
Steels	cleel
Brandy	coon tooee
Blanketts	thet clun nee
Cloth white	Dellgie
do. Red	Dell gussee
do. Bleu	Dell clun nee
a file	Hoo call
an Awl	thaw'l
flints	Clus dell
Looking Glasses	Ben nue see 'the Elea
Stockings	thelt
Hatchetts	tha'l
Ice Chissels broad	Eha Kidd 'the tea'
do. narrow	E'ha dea'
Knives	Bess
Knives Jack	thel Kee 'thee bess
Gun's	tha'l ke the ke na
Bayonett	Eha law thooe
a Comb	Cleechee
a gunn worm	Caw hoo day

: a nett Line	Clule
: twine Course	E'ha clule
: Scrapers	Eyo'u gule
: a Needle	tell a'yaw thee lee
: a Spoon	Cluse
: Button's	Barra clu le
worsted Stockings	thel gee clu nee
A Cag	Dea' Kea thel lee
Shoes	Kea chee
Rings	Elaw oonee
a hatt	Chaw ellee
a powder horn	Egid a day
fish hooks	Gith
Garders	thin nel ke thee
A Drest deers skin	Eka thea ther
a martin skin	thaw ther
a quiquahatch	Naw gi e'ther
a Wolf	Noo see ether
a Black fox	Ehe che buell
a white fox	Eha chu bye
a Red fox	Naw kee ther
a whole Beaver	Chaw ther
a $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver	Chaw yeather
a Deer	Eha thin
Deers flesh	E'ha thin gaw
a Cloth Cap	chaw baw ther
itt's Cold	Ega'h
itt's hott	he due thee
fire	Coon
Water	twoee
a pipe	che thell tuice kenaw
a padle	Oa'th

a hairy Deer skin	Bidgee assee
a Beaver Coate	chaw que ther
snow shoes	Aye
a Deer skin coate	chid day
father	sidd haw
mother	inneaw
Wife	Sawcoosee
a woman	chacooee
a Boy	Kille kew
Indians or Indian	Dinneegou
English men	Bellu hoo ly
the Sun	Saw
the moon	hea Cleth thess daw
the Star's	Coath
a Sled	Bith Kinnee
a Gunn case	thel Ke thee lcaw thee
fish	Clew'e
Deer's Sinnews	thea
Large netting	Cleele
small Do.	Ehathault
a Deers snaire	Bele
a Ermin skin	Del Kee le
worsted	Clay hooss too thee
hair of the head	thee yaw gau
a great many	Claw
their is none	Iy'ca hooly
a Ehuskemay	Oot hay n'ay
a Gir'l	Chuki yea
an Otter skin	Ne pea you
Socks	Kee het chu
a q't Botle	Coon too delle
give me	Nelesse
to go or to Depart	Neegaw

a Dog	Clee
writting	Eree cliss
Salt	Delh 'thy
a Cloth Coate	Ay'e
no	do
Yes	Coo law go
Good	Ness soo
Bad	Woo ss tee
Swan's	Caw cooss
Geese	Caw
white geese	hoocaw
Ducks	Ker'r
Partridges	Causs baw
a Nett for fish	haw petch
a fort or house	Ee yeaw
a tent	itt see
the penis	Yeak
the private parts	Echee gesse
a Womans cap	Chawess the tue ne
the head	Eha the
the fore head	Chede haw
the Eye brows	thede haw
the nose	Ecke
the Cheeks	Eehin
the Lip's	Sid haw
the teeth	saw goo
the tongue	sitt thoo
the Chin	See itt taw
the Arm	{ saw caw nee or sail chillia
the hand	Elow
the nails of the fingers	seacunnee

NORTHERN INDIAN LANGUAGE 187

the breast	Soss see see
the Back	Chit taw see
the thigh	see the ther
the Knee	see cutt
the Leg	see cha ther
the Neck	su'h coode
the foot	Suke'a
the toes	Ekel chella
the hee'l	Ekel tell
the Rump	Ethel lee
the Ear	sett choy
a pott or Kettle	telle
a Plate	it thoy
a Lamp or Light	coon telle
to Sleep	Oost hay
to Dance	Yass clee
to Laugh	Nawesselue
to Cry	chidsaw
Oyl	Key'e
a Window	Yaw
a Door	thee tha bulle
a mugg	Conna thue
a Glass	quot nolla hille
a table	padechinnaw
by and by & presently	colle hullee
a Cap	Su ban kellee
a Daughter	Selle linga
a Son	{tille lig or Saw
a Northern Indn. snowshoe	a ke baw
a round toed shoe, or Galley shoe	{aw'l the baw

to Kill	Ka hill kee
a Scul'k	Chesa
a white owl	Yaw law ba
a Lun'n	{ Ubath or S'eeque
a man of warr	Els'a
a White Rabbitt	{ Cawchu or talulgue
A her'n	taill
to Kiss	tayellsue
a pillegan	ura chiee
a quil	aw lesulle
a Cannoe	{ Slee or it chee
Dry'd meet	Elle huga
Breed	Ertha cuna
a trunk	tachund hulla
a gun stick	Elkille cla culle
an Indn. Bow	Elthin
do. Arrow	Cuhaw
Jackasha puck	tane tella telle
gartering	Echenillick Dullee
a Seal	tagallee
a Buskerogan	Clutt Killee
a Roggan	Slawee
hand cuffs	Clin glewee
Ear Rings	Sesa le clun'a
to tie the hair up'	Su'gu
to tie	Claechue
a nail or Iron	hoochelth
white midling beads	Elsullegaligall
Blue do.	Dalathin

Long beads	Ellelecluna
a skippatogan	Clatha
mittins or cuffs	thess
to cutt	Ertheecaw
a Ship	Skee le cheep
a netting needle	Cleclachina
a back board	allchina
Bufflow flesh	Egida thin
a Setting gun & fox taking the baite	{ Ellecula chinda Elleel talleclun Elleclula
I do not Know	Caw hoos du law
the Night	thukle
I don't understand you	taw hoos nee
to give	{ ussee or udessee
a snow Bird	thel tool Kye
Hawk's Eyes (bird)	collee
Haw haw way's	haw ke the
me or i	See
fatt	Cless
Come to trade	{ Naw wesue or becauw welld dea
powder bag's	thel kee thee coon ether
to padle in a cannoe	Naw wesoo ly
pitch or tarr	geay
What's the matter	Ill cloye hoo gaw
wood for a fire	Dea kin
a Root of a tree	hawse
a fire place	'thee eya'
tent poles	thy yee
a tent not pitch't	Nee pelle
Rain or itt Rain's	I'ts sill
snowy weather	Chil lee thu

itt Drift's	Yaw heel nel gale
Big or Large	Nea chaw
Little	Soo the yee
the wind	Nill chee
Blood	dell
Bones	thin
he or him	thin (<i>ibid</i>)
make a fire	hel kid hoothee
go out of Door's	Bil ossee
Come here or in Door's	Udessee
the other tent	U huck cooee
frying	Ooss bess
more	tue ne ss tin
where or what place	Elleloy ding nee
to Shoot	Eah dess teho
Eat	bell
Drink	too'e
a Lake	too aw they
a River	Doss
Very high	Nill che
Low	Yath
a smoak or fire	hoorelthaw
Snow	Yawth
a Ridge	Sluth
a stone	thel'h
to Steel or a thief	Innooce
Indian garter's	then nill Kee thee
Ice	Clue
Very Sick	Ethecaw
a great way	thethaw
nigh hand	clow wee
Islands	Nooce
Very bad or not good	Ness soo holew

Baking	Erru stilee
Boiling	Donnel loss
Broyiling	the hue cule
Roasting	No baul
walking	Naw chedell
Running	Naw chell culle
to Stand	Nee the yea
to Sitt	'the daw
feathers	Et'h thea thee
to pick geese	Oos ness
to make haste	Eahcaw
to Serve powder	Nawwe nick
now or at this time	Con hue

A short acc't:¹ of the Language which is Spoke to the Southward of these parts and Counted the Clearest and finest tongue,—by the Nakawawuck Indians,² who border's by the Little sea so Calld. Where the french Settlement is Viz.

Give me something to Eat I am a hungry or Starvd	{ pung'ke petun'n Enwewe son
Yes	Sanke'maw
No	Cawwin'g
Why do you say so, or, why do you talk so	{ tonna E'teh she kes swain
ope'n the window	taw win naw
a Comb	Pe naw quan
a Hatchett	Mokawquck
Powder	Muk kertau

¹ A space of two and a quarter pages precedes this "acc't."

² See Appendix B, p. 314.

THE INDEX

5 A Vocabulary English and English	1 @ 37:
38 of Goods traded Do.	38 @ 42:
42 of the Stone Indian Language a small act.	43 @ 51: ¹
47 Discourses upon Different Subjects, Indians Songs,	52 @ 75: 76 @ 79: ²
65 of the world, sky, clouds, Star's, Rivers, Lakes and cannoës &c.	80
66 the climate, Summers, Drift bank's, Various winds, men froze to Death and Surprizing Cold,	81 @ 82.
67 a Settlement up port nelson River see page 134 @ 135 [112-15]	83:
71 Continual frozt, of Ice & Large Hail &c.	84 @ 85
71 Deludges with sudden thaw's, Damage done by such, and Rocks splitt &c.	86
72 the Suns Rising and Setting Halo's or mock sun's &c: the Effects of Cold & Ice	87 @ 89
75 of Days and feasts,	90 @ 91
78 month's or moons,	92
78 their Stature and complexion	93
80 their way of washing,	94
80 of Ludne's sea shore Indians Starvd. and Extravagancy,	95
81 of their Covetioness,	96
82 a Discription of the Callimutt & harange	97 @ 104
89 the Nature of tents,	105 @ 106
92 false Information & Quarrelling their fondness to Children,	107 @ 108

¹ Part of p. 49 and pp. 50-1 are blank in the manuscript.

² These pages are blank in the manuscript.

93 their way of Burial &c:	109
94 Jelioussy the french betrayd. & 8 Kill'd,	110
95 their many wives and family's their Constitution, medicines, & method of Cure, the Nature of a swetting house,	111 @ 113
97 method of women and of Bleeding	114 @ 115
98 Conjuring, conceit of Death &c.	116
99 in pannick fear,	117
100 Starvd. Indians	118
101 their marriage,	119
101 their hard Lying,—floots of wood,	120
102 Disfiguring themselves, never out of their way, & their great age	121
104 Child Bearing,	122
104 twins & Constitution	123
105 of the Cradle and back board,	124 @ 125
107 their Instruments for working,	126 @ 127
108 a friggazy of Equa's, their working,	128
109 of their wear and apperal	129 @ 130
111 of their games and Begging,	131 @ 132
112 of their tail, Different nations,	133
113 Earchet hinue Country,	134 @ 135
115 uncertainty of Living no Salting meet	136
116 the English Dress,	137
117 their hunting	138 @ 140
120 Seven Sorts of geese	141 @ 148
123 of partridges 3 sorts,	149 @ 151
124 of pheasants and pilicans	152
124 a Raile	153
125 Crains pidgeon's and Jackdaw's	154
125 a water Crow,	155
126 Bittern's and Lunn's,	156 @ 157

THE INDEX

126 Willock's	158
126 flying Seals,	159 ¹
127 Swan's and wood peckers	164 @ 166
128 Rabbitts, and white hairs	167 @ 168
130 flying Squrl's	169
130 Snakes, sand flys and musketo's,	170
131 musketer hawk's and flesh fly's,	171
132 mawse Scurvy Grass and Jackashapuck,	172
133 of Berries,	173
134 ² Anchillico & wishakapuka,	174
135 Red Willow & their Dyes,	175
136 touch-wood and snow shoes,	176 @ 177
138 Cannoes,	178 @ 179
140 of wolves,	180
141 Wolvereen's	181 @ 182
142 of wild Catt's,	183
143 of porqupine	184 @ 185
143 of the Beaver & the Nature &c.	186 @ 191
150 of Ermins,	192
150 of mice and Ground Squrl's,	193
151 Deer 3 Sorts,	194 @ 195
154 Moose	196
154 Bufflow	197 @ 199
155 their Curing meet and Ruhiggan	200
156 pimmegan	201
156 their method to find Deer and of foxs.	202 @ 203
157 Steel trap's, also their way of setting gun's and Log trap's &c.	204 @ 210
164 of Dogs,	211

¹ Most of p. 159 and pp. 160-3 are blank in the manuscript.

² Pp. 134-5 contain a "Discription of or'r" inserted at a later date in the second volume of the "Observations".

164 of martin's	212
165 of otter and Jackashes,	213
165 Black Bear's,	214
165 White bears and Sculk's	215
166 White whale,	216
166 Seals	217
167 Muskerats,	218
167 of fishe's	219 @ 221
170 freshn'ing provision's and provisions Kep't 7 month's fresh,	222
171 no Spring, snow water Drank,	223
171 Woddn. housses a Discription YF:	224 @ 226
173 a Discription of Churchill & Brick Stoves,	227 @ 231
177 A Small acct. of the Norther'n Indian's Disfiguring themselves,	232
178 Language Difficult to Lear'n Land Carridge, & few goods,	233
179 Rivers never op'n and their mistake,	234
180 their Country	235
181 of the Ehuskemay's and Discription of the North Coast	236 @ 238
183 of their Language	239 @ 249
250 @ 254 to be placd. as in the page p. margt. ¹	
191 of the Nakawawuck Indn. tongue ²	255 @

¹ See p. 115, n. 2; p. 130, n. 1; p. 154, notes 1 and 3; p. 191, n. 1.

² Volume II of the "Observations" ends at this point.

Notes and Observations on a Book

entitled

A VOYAGE TO HUDSONS BAY
IN THE DOBBS GALLEY &c

1746 & 1747

Wrote by

HENRY ELLIS'S

Honourable Gentleman; ¹

According to your hon'r's. orders, I have made some Remark's, on Severall Authors, concerning the passage, country, climate, &c of North America, with truth, and Sincerity, so fair as I Know of that country; of which I can Justifie; and as such is wrote but in a bad Style, I hope itt will be Excusable; as I do not pretend to be capable of writting of History's &c: but had I had a proper person to Rectifye Such; with Submission; I might then have Recommended itt to Your hon'r's in a better Style; but not in the Least more to truth;—and as I have wrote this Without any Veiw of Interest or proffitt, Giving Such as my Opinion and Knowledge of the Country, with Candour. Therefore, if their shou'd be any thing taken amiss, I most Humbly ask Pardon for my presumption in so doing. and am, Your honour's,

Most Obedient, and most
Dutyfull, Humble Servant,

8 March 1748 ² to Command.

JAMES ISHAM.

¹ According to A. 2/2, fo. 9d., the Governor and Committee elected on November 24, 1748, for one year were :

Thomas Knapp	Governor
Sir Atwill Lake, Baronet,	Deputy Governor
William Elderton	
Captain James Winter	
John Anthony Merle	
John Merry [junior]	
Bibye Lake	
Peter Elers	
Robert Merry [brother of John Merry, junior]	Committee

² March 8, 1749, New Style. The date was added to this document (E. 2/3) in a different writing. Isham was recalled from York Fort in 1748 (see p. 320). His presence was necessary in London as the Governor and Committee were

Notes and Observations on a Book
entitled
A VOYAGE TO HUDSONS BAY
IN THE DOBBS GALLEY &c
1746 & 1747

Wrote by
HENRY ELLIS¹

I observe its a common Rule with some persons that writes a history of Voyages &c. for want of a proper and Just Subject to make a complete Book; they Enlarge upon things which is neither consistant with truth, Justice, nor honour; Which I shall prove by some observations I shall make on the above Book, so fair as I Know of the country, and in particular of what concerns me, which the above Author intimates for the want of better intelligence into the truth of things.

first,—I do not take upon me to conterdict the Observations of the authors, tell their arrival at York fort,

replying to the attacks on their charter by Arthur Dobbs and his associates. These attacks resulted in the Select Committee being appointed by the House of Commons “to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson’s Bay”. See Introduction, pp. xc-ix.

¹ Henry Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson’s-Bay, By the Dobbs Galley and California, In the Years 1746 and 1747, For Discovering a North West Passage . . .* (London, 1748). Ellis was aboard the *Dobbs* as “Agent for the Proprietors in the said Expedition”.

not being on board the ships, nor Yet after their Departure from York fort, for their intended Discovery, further then I can but take Notice of the odd account he gives of the winter fowl, and beast in those parts, where he say's, in page 36 Line 16:—" they were not " much Distressed for provisions since it is affoim'd " that in the Space of the Winter, they Kill'd no Less " then Eighteen hundred dozen of partridges and " other fow'l, which affords an opportunity of Saying " somewhat concerning the Birds of this country " that may prove Entertaining and instructive to the " Reader."

I do not Doubt but such accounts may be Entertaining to the Reader, but I hope the Reader is at his own Discretion whether he will credit all Such accounts or not;—it is well Known we have no other fow'l, in these parts in the winter for seven months then partridges, therefore I think 21,600 partridges is a Great many, and more then I can think cou'd be well Gott. I have Known the country many Years in plenty; and in Scarcity; have had upwards of 50 men and cou'd not procure more then 400 of a week, Notwithstanding a bundance of the Natives as well as English to procure them, which is not above $\frac{1}{2}$ the Number mention'd, therefore I think the author must be mistaken in his accounts, or has had false information, Otherwise the Country must be Greatly alter'd since those Day's. But what occation have I to mention of the triffler Enlarging

of this Author, when we Veiw mr. Dobb's acct.¹ page 22. Where says he,—“the Sportsmen Kills as many “partridges and hares as they please, one Year when “they had 80 men in Garrison, they had the curiosity “to reckon the Number which amounted to 90,000 “partridges, and 25,000 Hares”; (i.e. Surprizing.—for if any person wou'd Give themselves the trouble to calculate itt, not at a moderate computation, but at 6 partridges or 3 Rabbitts p. man a Day. they wou'd find that Number, wou'd be Near 11 Months provisions, Whereas they have but 7 month's that these provisions will Keep sweet and Wholesome Eating. this appears plain that Author's will Enlarge whether it's consistant with Reason or not.—as to mr. Dobbs acct. of ct. Middletons, of other birds, I can not Say but he is in the Right, for some Years, those Ducks, Geese, &c. are as plenty as he Observes.

But to Return to mr. Elliss,—as to his Observations of the Birds, Refer to Observations on Hudsons Bay. But I can not well Let pass the noted Observations ² he makes

¹ Arthur Dobbs, *An Account Of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the North-west Part of America . . .* (London, 1744).

² Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 41–3, “The Porcupine of Hudson's-Bay resembles in Shape and Size a Beaver; the Head is not unlike that of a Rabbit; it has a flat Nose, entirely covered with short Hair; the Teeth before, two above, and two below, are of a yellow Colour, and remarkably strong; it has very small short Ears, which hardly appear without the Fur; the Legs too are very short, but the Claws, of which it has four on its fore Feet and five on the hind, are long, hollow within, like Scoops, and very sharp pointed. It is covered all over the Body with a pretty soft Furr, about four Inches long; beneath the Hair, on the upper Part of the Head, Body and Tail, it is very thick, set with sharp stiff Quills, which are white, with black Points, bearded, and not easily drawn out, when

on the Porqupine, and Quiquahak; or Wolverreen, page 41@43: Where say's he the porqupine of Hudsons Bay, Resembles in shape and size a beaver;—it is true the head is not unlike a Rabbitt &c. but by the author's Leave I must needs own they Resembles more of a Hedgehog for shape and make then of a Beaver. if he had mention'd a muskratt Resembling a Beaver, I wou'd agree with him, they also Living in housses after the Same manner.—as this person is so perticular in this beast, I am Surprizd he does not observe that the feet of a porqupine is not unlike a childs hands and feet, for which Reason some Europians will not Eat of them if they See the feet on;—as to further particulars of this and the Wolverreen, I Refer to Observations on Hudsons Bay, page [141] where is mention'd the truth without any addition, &c.

I must now observe his Remarks when the Ships they have entered the Skin. The Porcupine usually makes its Nest under the Roots of great Trees, and sleeps much; he feeds chiefly upon the Bark of Trees, eats Snow in the Winter, and drinks Water in the Summer, but carefully avoids going into it. The Savages eat them, and esteem their Flesh both a wholsome and a pleasant Food.

The *Quick-Hatch* or *Wolverene* is another very extraordinary Beast of the Size of a large Wolf; the Snout of the upper and under Jaw, as far as the Eyes, is black, the upper Part of the Head whitish, the Eyes dark; the Throat, and under Part of the Neck, white spotted with black; the Ears small and round; the whole Body of a reddish brown, darker at the Shouders and Rump, and lighter upon the Back and Sides. The Furr of the whole Body is pretty long, but not very close, the Feet, as far as the first Joint, are covered with short black Hair, but the Legs are brown and the Claws of a light Colour, the Tail is most of it brown, but towards the Tip bushy and black. This Creature in going carries his Head very low, so that his Back rises archwise; when attacked, he defends himself with great Force and Obstinacy, and it is said, will tear Traps, Ginns, and other such Inventions to pieces, in a very surprizing Manner."

arrive in five fathom hole, within 7 miles of York fort, where say's the Author page 149 @ 50: "The "Governour Seing us in this Deep Distress, in order to "complete itt, sent his boate and people to cutt down "the Beacon, which was the only proper mark we had "to Guide us into that place of safety, when we might "gett the ship afloat.—all that mr. Holding¹ Capt. "Smith's¹ Lieutenant cou'd Say to Dissuade them from "itt was ineffectual; they cutt it Down, at the same "time they acknowledged, that when they receiv'd "those orders, the Governour Very well Knew who we "were."

This assertion I protest to be false; and am of opinion, the Judicious Reader will agree with me, When I give a Suffitient Reason for my Behavoir in this affair.²

¹ James Holding, mate, and Francis Smith, captain, of the *California*. For a biography of Francis Smith, see Appendix C, pp. 336.

² Isham had seen the discovery ships before and, according to Captain Moor, "was aboard the *Dobbs* about two Days before they departed from *England* . . ." (*Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), p. 229). After a year spent in England on account of ill health (cf. pp. 319-20) Isham had returned to Hudson Bay in 1746 in the *Prince Rupert*, which had been in the same convoy as the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California*. According to the Clerk of the *California*, *Account of a Voyage* . . ., I, 1-5, and Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 120-22, the Company's four ships and "some others bound to the Northward and Westward" were in convoy at Hosely-Bay [Holesley Bay] when they were joined by the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California*. The ships continued to the Orkneys, from whence they sailed on June 12, 1746, convoyed by Captain Christopher Middleton (see p. 333) in H.M.S. *Shark*. Exclusive of the convoy there were the Company's four ships, the two discovery ships, a vessel for Antigua and one for Boston. The convoy left the ships on June 16 according to the Clerk of the *California*, or on the 17th according to Ellis, and a day later, according to both, the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* became "so intirely separated" from the Company's ships "as not afterwards to see each other for that Year".

For in Conterdiction to the Authors Assertions, I desire to Know how it's possable I shou'd Know before I sent those orders, who or What they were more then Enemies; as its Very well Known their was Warr with france and spain;¹—and altho we had been informd ships was sent out upon Discovery, we Little thought or imagind that those ships wou'd Ever attempt to come to Hays's River to winter their ships and men; But I say in Supposition Suppose we had actually Known the ships, and that Ct. Moor,² and Ct. Smith, was on board, is that any Rule that we shou'd trust to their being our freinds; No! I shall further observe that those ships might be in the french, or Spaniards Custity, and the Capts. Keep't on board with a Design to Conduct them to the fort, in order to Deceive us under false Couller's, as we have had Instances of Such;—and as these ships Lay off the River's mouth from 12 in the morning on the 26th of Augt. untill 9 at Night on the 27th of August before they sent a boat up to the fort, to Inform us who they were, Nay do not Suppose then wou'd have sent then if I had not Sent a boate with a Letter;³—I say—I might well imagine they were no other then our Common Enemies, Neither do I think they acted with Discretion in

¹ The War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–42) against Spain opened on October 19, 1739; it eventually became merged in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) which was concluded with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle on October 18, 1748.

² William Moor, captain of the *Dobbs-Galley*. For a biography, see Appendix C, pp. 334–6.

³ See Appendix A, p. 243.

Entering the mouth of the River with two ships and all thier Boats under Sail of a Sum'r Day &c. its my opinion itt wou'd have Behov'd them Better when they first appeard of the Rivers mouth for to have sent a boat up to the factory with a flag of truce and thier authority for thier proceedings.—but when I consider that Such men of great ability's was on board it was Excusable. as to my further Behaviour on this acct. I Refer to my Journals¹ between me and the Said Discovery Ships:

As to the Authors further acct. page 151 I think he might omitted asserting such an account, to Say that he was Receivd. in a hauty and Disrespectfull manr. &c. to be ingenious I think they were too well usd, and I believe that any honest man that Know's me will say the Same; But this as well as other things I Refer to my Journals, which I hope will prove they were usd. with as much Respect, and with as much assistance as our circumstance wou'd afford, and cou'd and shou'd have thought the author wou'd have had more humanity to his fellow christians then to Speak otherwise of them then with truth and Justice.²

¹ B. 239/a/29, "A Journal of the most material Transactions, and Copy's of Letters between Mr. James Isham & Council at York Fort, and Capt. William Moor, Capt. Francis Smith and their Council during their Wintering in Hayess River Commencing 26 August 1746 Ending 24 June 1747". See Appendix A, pp. 241-308, and cf. Clerk of the *California, Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage . . .* and Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*.

² See Appendix A, p. 243, and Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 150-51, " . . . we received a Letter from the Governor, desiring us not to come any nearer the Factory, without sending a proper Authority from the Government,

page 152 Say's the author " provided Settlements were
" made about thirty Leagues up port Nelson, there the
" climate is, what may be Justly stiled temperate, the
" Distance from the Indians Less, as well as the Dangers
" and Difficulty of transporting their goods, in small
" cannoes; and whereas they come now but once a Year
" to the factories, they might if the Setlemt. were higher
" up, come twice, or three times, and in much greater
" Numbers, the Inconveniency and Difficulty they find
" to Support themselves, on such Long Journeys, the
" cold they feel in approaching of that Ice Bay, the
" Labour of So Long so precarious, and so Dangerous a
" carriadge, Which are great Discouragments, and of
" Which they Heavily as well as Justly, complain; wou'd
" be all Remov'd."

I shall agree with the Author so fair that the climate
may be more moderate thirty Leagues up;—But that
Distance up wou'd be of no more Signification, then

or *Hudson's-Bay* Company, for so doing, or he would use his utmost Strength
and Endeavour to prevent us. The Answer given by us to this extraordinary
Message, was to the following Effect: That we found ourselves under a Necessity
of Wintering in some Part of the Bay; for which Purpose we chose this as the
most convenient; and that we expected Shelter and Assistance, as Subjects of
Great-Britain, and People who had no Intentions to molest the *Hudson's-Bay*
Company's Trade, or who were directed by any Motive in coming thither other
than the Security of the Ships, and the Preservation of the People; and in short,
that we were resolved to winter thereabouts. Mr. *Holding* and I went with this
Answer, and were received by the Governor in a very haughty and disrespectful
manner; after which several Letters passed between the Governor and
us, endeavouring to dissuade us from having any Thoughts of wintering
near him; but as they served for no other Purpose, than to amuse and
perplex us, the Correspondence was soon over, and is indeed hardly worth
a Relation."

where the Settlements is at present, being but a few hour's for the Natives to padle Down, not only so, but we must consider the Difficulty in Going up that River, with other Vessels then cannoes is; being above 40 miles up that River, *full of intricate Sholes, and Narrow channels,* with Deep falls; which wou'd make itt precarious Repassing with goods to Such a Setlement.—thier is a Great many Difficultys wou'd attend having a Setlemt. up that River, which they have not a presant Idea of, one thing in perticular, being such a *Distance from the marshes, and Low Lands,* they wou'd not have the advantage of getting a Quantity of provisions as they do Lower down,—not but I must allow, was itt practiciable to Repass up that River with proper Necessary's &c. 200 mile, itt wou'd certainly be of infinite Ease, and Service to the Natives; But then What proffitt wou'd arise from itt;—for the trade that is at York fort, and Churchill wou'd be Obstructed by such a Setlemt. which wou'd not advance or Enlarge the trade more then itt's at presant,—unless the french was Dislodged from the Great Lake or Little sea so call'd: which is not practicible whilst Canada is in their possestion. I can not conceive how the Natives can come twice or three times in a Season, for at presant they gett as many goods they possable can by trapping all the winter, which goods when they come to the fort is not Suffitient to Load thier cannoes; so that I think if the Indians cou'd procure four times as many fur's as mr. Dobbs mentions page

56:¹—they wou'd Load their cannoes and bring them to the presant forts, and not Load their cannoes with woman & children and but one man, as they do frequently for the want of Goods; for its a sure Observation when women & children appears in their cannoes, you Depend upon their having but few goods, but if all men Depend upon a Good Cargoe.

I can not say I ever heard of such complaint as the Author intimates,² But if ever he heard of their Complaints (which I am ap't to credit if he Did Cou'd not understand them) is chiefly of Scarcity of Beaver, of their warr &c. as pr. Observations on Hdsons Bay in there Speeches &c. to Remove which all their Desire is an English man to go up with them to make peace &c.

The Authors mentioning a Settlement to be made up port Nelson River intimates that River is not frequented, and no manner of trade Carried on; here I must

¹ Dobbs, *Account Of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, p. 56, “ . . . and the French giving them Goods at a cheaper Rate than the Company, all the Eastern and Southern Trade is in a manner lost to the French, and a considerable Part of the Southwestern Trade, they scarce preserving the Trade at York Fort and Churchill River to themselves ; so that were the Trade laid open, and the Southern and Western Countries settled, we might not only regain that Trade from the French, which would probably increase our Profit from 40000 £. which the Company gain at present upon their Trade, to 100000 £. but we might in a short Time increase it to 200000 £. by supplying the Natives with Woollen Goods, Iron Tools, Guns, Powder and Shot, at reasonable Rates ; for by this Treatment, and fixing Factories for Goods higher up the Rivers, upon *Rupert's*, *Moose*, *Albany*, and *Neslon* Rivers ; by having Markets nearer them, and cheaper, the Number of Hunters would increase, and would bring down four times as many Furs, besides other valuable Skins, not worth the Carriage at present, and they would make two Returns for one, and many come from greater Distances, which don't now come at all. . . ”.

² Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 152.

interfer, that the Company has a commerce with the Natives up that at presant, so fair that they can be of any Service, and that their Servants have Dwellings for these Late Years, up the River for to Ease the Natives in some measure as to Goods provisions &c. Nay to my certain Knowledge their Servants has been 40 miles up that River and a Vessel Go from the fort, for to fetch such Commoditys from their: and I can further prove, that whilst I was in the Said company's Service, I have order'd those men that I sent to Dwell their for the Seasons, to make what Discovery's up that River they cou'd, with out any Limits, and all they cou'd make was no other then wt. I have mention'd of it's not being practicable &c. as in page 9 [207].

Wherefore I think cou'd a Setlement be made, and be of any further Service then what it's at presant, certainly the Company wou'd have Erected Such before now.

Page 153¹ he Say's "the Governour being now "convinc'd of our intentions to winter there, usd. his "uttermest Endeavours, that we might Lay the ships "below the fort, in a place open to the Sea, where they "wou'd have been in all probability beat to pieces, "Either from the waves of the Sea Setting in, or the "breaking up of the Ice, but as his arguments were of no "Efficacy in perswading us, and finding himself "Disappointed in this, as in his former schemes, being

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 153-4.
o

" Still resolv'd. to Distress us as much as possible, he sent
" most of the Indians, whose Chief Employ is to Kill
" Deer, Geese &c. into the Country, on purpose that we
" might not make use of them that way, or be in any
" Wise Benefitted by their means."

This is of a peices with the Rest for here the Author intimates, that my Disign's in advicing them to winter below the fort, was purposely to Loose their ships, and in Danger of their Lives, in conterdition to Which I do here affirm, that my advicing them to Lay thier ships below the fort, as in my Letter to them Dated Sepr. the 2. 1746.¹ was for their Safety, and the fittest place we Knew of for I may truly affirm no person that Ever was at that fort, cou'd have imagin'd or thought of any persons wintering Ships in ten Shilling Creek, where we are Sensible of the Danger Such Ships might Sustain by the Great Deluges, or floods, of water and Ice We have too frequently, at the Breaking up of the Ice in the Spring of the Years, Espetially as we have had an Instance of the Waters being a considerable Depth over the top of the banks on the Side of the Said creek, which Drove a Deal of Ice upon the banks a considerable way in Some of which peices as big as two Indians tents, &c. therefore can not conceive Why the author shou'd think itt Strange that I shou'd advice them to Lay thier ships at a place where I thought in Reason was Saffer then that Creek; an Observation of which Danger these

¹ See Appendix A, pp. 247-8.

ships was in please to Observe a true and Exact acct. taken by factory men at the Said creek the following year after the ships winterd. their, Entitled an Exact acct. of the Great Deluge, or flood of water in and about ten shilling creek &c.¹

Further if the Author please to Remember he himself was of an opinion at that time, that no ship cou'd winter in that creek with Safety, as he inform'd. me Sund'y Sep'r. the 7th when he went to Veiw itt,² for which Reason he propos'd. to try the french Creek the Next Day.

¹ B. 239/a/31, "An acct. of the Deluge att ten shilling Creek 1748" by John Hughes and George Sinclair. Isham made numerous references to the "Deluge" in his journal (B. 239/a/30) during April 11–21, 1748, and on June 10 he wrote to Robert Pilgrim at Churchill "... As to our River it has been as much contrary to other years as Every thing Else, . . . our River broke up the 14 of Aprill within a mile & $\frac{1}{2}$ of the fort, with Such a Deluge as has not been these many Year's, & Expected Every hour itt wou'd have power'd down upon the fort, but by Gods will the water got Vent at the Cross barr, & at the head of the flats a mile above the fort which Left the Ice Lying in high mountains tell the first of may when itt broke up by Degrees, the water having a free passage so Long their was not a Suffitient Quantity Left to carry the Ice out to Sea, before the water gott Vent on the 14 of aprill we had about 11 foot water Running over the Channel Ice opposite the fort, I had 3 men at ten shilling Creek besides Indian's, for the goose Season & fishing &c. who narrowly Escap'd (an Indn. Boy was perishd. with cold & wett.) the fresh of water was so Great their that the water was above two foot over the top of the bank's on Each side of the creek, and the creek full of heavy Large Ice from the River (the creek Ice did not break tell a considerable time afterwards), a Quantity of which heavy Ice was howe a considerable way into the willows over the top of the banks, our men was obligd. to Lye upon Ct. moors Stage, wch. was good a $\frac{1}{4}$ of mile from the Creek ; under which Stage was Knee Deep of water ; What wou'd have become of the ship's I can not tell but this I Know, the top of those banks was much upon a Level with the Ship's main Yard, when they Lay in the Creek Last year, by the 21st of may the Ice was clear out to Sea, the freshes quit Spent, but on the 28 of may, their came such a Strong fresh of water down this River again (with a great Quantity of wood.) which Stopd. the flood tide Several Days, & how the Year will End I can not tell. . . ". (B. 239/b/5, fos. 6d.–7.).

² See Appendix A, p. 251, Monday, September 8.

And further as the Author was a Stranger to the country, therefore not usd. to the customs and practices of the country, he need not wonder of the Natives being sent in Land, as its Very well Known after hunting is over in the fall, they are Yearly sent in Land, for to provide for themselves, and procure furrs against the Spring when they again make for the factory for to hunt for the English, therefore I am Surprizd. the author shou'd imagine I sent them away purposely because they shou'd not be assisting to them Espetially when they Never so much as Requir'd any Indians of me to hunt for them, tell the 27th of November, when all the Indians was Gone for their Winters Quarters Except some Women who I Keep for to Dress beavr. for tockey's¹ for their own use, and 4 Young men I Keep for to provide for our Selves, Notwithstandg. I Employd. and sent 2 of the 4 Indians a hunting for them as in Answr. to a Letter 27th Novembr. my Journal page 37 [30].²

" I do assure you provisions is so Scarce with me that
 " I can not Readily comply, for to find Indians with
 " provisions to hunt for you, for now what they Kill is in
 " Return for what I give them, besides here is no
 " partrid. to be had till we cross port Nelson River, for
 " what we gett nigher is not Suffitient to Supply the
 " factory, and our men that Lyes abroad, Neither have
 " I a pound of shott to Spare;

¹ Beaver coats, See p. 116.

² See Appendix A, p. 263.

“ Whosomever if you will Send Shott, and make a
“ Return of provisions in Exchange for What I give the
“ Indians, I will send two Indians a hunting, and Every
“ Saturday Return You what they Kill; as for
“ Satisfaction otherwise, a Little brandy once a Week is
“ Suffitient, and please to Let me Know how much, and
“ how often you will allow them some, and I will give itt
“ them, Which can be Returnd. hereafter &c.”

Accordingly I Keep them a hunting according to
agreemt. mention'd in my Journals, till Such times that
they fell out amongst themselves, in Dividing the Game;
Even then to hinder Disputes that arose amongst them,
I Employd 3 Indians as I mention as p. Journal;¹

“ Now I shall Employ three Indians to hunt for you
“ both for the future, and shall send the Game to Each
“ Ships company in proportion, at the Same time shall
“ continue as propos'd as to provisions and brandy, and
“ I think this the only method, to Lay aside all Disputes
“ that may arise, &c.” to Which they then Seem'd
contented.

Further he Say's I Did all I cou'd to Distress them, I
must Desire the Author to Recollect, Did not I pitch
upon a place for to Store their beer in, Did not I store a
great many goods in our Dwellings within and Without
the fort, for them; Did not I Keep 4 men of thiers in
Digging a celler under Ground in my own house for to
put their goods in, Some Weeks: Did not I assist them

¹ See Appendix A, p. 264, et seq.

with Bricks, & Lime, and my Bricklayr. for to built thier Stove &c. Did not my Smiths Do a Great many chops for them, Did not I procure and provide them with 44 furr's, coats, which was all I cou'd procure, with snow shoes &c. Did not I assist them with a boate, contrary to my orders, or Instructions from my masters &c.¹ and Did not I use the author, as also the Capts. and other Officers with Civility, When Ever they came to the fort, hardly Ever comming but I askt them to Dine with me &c. Which the author, nor any of them can not Deny, but With Ingratitude.

Page 154 Line 21: this is a Great mistake where he Say's this is a contrivance borrow'd. as I suppose from the Natives;² for I am Very certain the Natives never usd. any Such tents, their Dwellings being only skin tents, Brush hutts, Birchrig'ne hutts, and when they can't procure any of these a Root of a tree &c.

¹ No written instructions to Isham regarding the *Dobbs* and *California* have been traced. As Isham was in London in the early months of 1746 he no doubt received verbal instructions from the Governor and Committee.

² Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 154, "It was the 26th [September, 1746], notwithstanding all the Diligence we could use, before the Ships were secured in the Creek: This being effected, we turned our Thoughts on the Methods necessary for our own Preservation; being certain there was no Possibility of living aboard the Ship for Cold, wherefore some of the People were employed in cutting Fire-Wood, others in building Log-Tents. This is a Contrivance borrowed, as I suppose, from the Natives; and ours were made of Trees hewn and cut, about sixteen Feet long, raised close together, their Ends lying one against another at the Top, but extending at the Bottom, in the Form of the Roof of a Country-House. Between these Logs the Vacancies were stuffed with Moss, and that being plaistered over with Clay, made a warm Hutt; the Door was low and small, a Fire-Place in the middle, and a Hole over it, to let out the Smoke." See p. 90, n. 1.

Page 161 I shall not be too Detious in Relation to the Nature of those Beaver here, the Author not being particular in the Natives way of catching them¹ therefore Refer to Observations on Hudsons Bay, where is a full and true acct. Relating to the method us'd by the Natives &c.²

Page 64³ It's Very true that by immoderate Drinking all the folly and Madness that attends, was at time; as I was truely informd. by mr. frost,⁴ who was near them all the time, being Little Else perform'd. but Drinking night and Day, in Such a manner, that the Said frost, Expected Every hour to murder'd, and the Said frost Did protest to me, that Mr. Thompson⁵ did menace him with Such,

¹ Ibid., pp. 160-61, "But as the Methods used by the Natives in taking them, may not be the same in different Countries, or so generally known as other Circumstances relating to them, I shall be more particular. The manner of the *Hudson's-Bay Indians* taking them, is first to drain as much of the Water from about their Houses as possible ; this done, and their Door covered with a strong Net, they break in at the Top of the House, which as soon as the Beavers discover, they run to the Door to make their Escape, and are there entangled in the Nets, seized by the *Indians*, and immediately skinned. These Skins they spread to dry in the Sun, and eat the Flesh, which is very fat and delicious."

² See p. 146.

³ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 164, "... The first Time of their going to the Factory [York], was the 8th of December [1746], from whence they brought two Casks of Brandy for Christmas Cheer, which Season is generally celebrated in this Country by the *English* (so easily are the best Institutions corrupted) by immoderate Drinking, and all the Folly and Madness that attend it."

⁴ Augustine Frost, usually described as a "useful hand", was stationed at York Fort during 1746-47. He joined the Company at least as early as 1720 and served at Churchill River, Moose and York Factory. He became one of the few "Masters of the Indian Language" in the country (A. 11/114, fo. 129d.). One of his Indian fathers-in-law was "old Muccatoon father of the rabbit Skin guard" at Moose Factory (B. 135/a/11, fo. 63a).

⁵ Edward Thompson, surgeon of the *Dobbs-Galley*. For a biography see Appendix C, pp. 337-8.

that I had much ado to perswade him to stay in his Station; and indeed its no wonder their men was Afflicted with the Scurvy, when they had Such plenty of common Spir'ts, with Salt provisions &c. as the Author himself Observes in page 199: Where Say's he, “ but the consequence were Extreamly fatal, the people “ had been healthy enough, before this Season of mirth “ came; but indulging themselves too freely, they were “ soon invaded by the Scurvy &c.”

Page 167 if our Author had so much Regard to truth as he intimates, I am Surprizd. he Did not Write with more candour.¹

He further takes notice in page 169: “ the plant by “ the Indians call'd, Wizzakapuckka, used by them and “ the English as a medicine in Nervious, and Scrobatick “ Disorders ”, and again in page 188 “ Whenever they

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 166–8, “ . . . It will also be requisite for me to say somewhat of the Conduct and Behaviour of our Countrymen that reside in those Parts ; and if in doing this, I should give any Offence, it may be depended upon that it does not proceed from any kind of Prejudice, or personal Resentment, but from that Regard to Truth, which it becomes a Man to have, who writes from no other Motive than the Information of the Publick. I must farther beg leave to add, that as I am not instigated by any kind of Rancour, so I am as far from writing under the Direction of any Sort of Influence ; there being no kind of Intention in me to recommend myself by what I deliver in this Narration to any Set of Men whatever, farther than may arise from the Sincerity of my Relation, and my setting down freely and fairly those Observations that I had an Opportunity of making, by the Share I had, and my Station, in this last Expedition. To these the Publick seem to have a Right, as well from the important Consequences with which the North West Passage, whenever it is discovered, will be attended to the Nation in general ; as to those who are immediately concerned in making that Discovery, as from the great Attention that has been shewn to this Undertaking, and the considerable Reward that the Legislature has been pleased to offer to encourage it.”

" find themselves begin to be indisposd. they Drink an
" Infusion of Wizzakapuckka, the Broth of fish (alias)
" Shaggamittee or muscommee,) or Else Sweet
" themselves."

Sweeting and Bleeding is the only Remedy, they have
for any internal Distember, and acct. and Discription of
the house Refer to Observations on Husdon Bay.¹

And here I can but Observe that the plant
Wizzakapuckka, intirely cur'd me, being Very much
Efflicted with a Nervious Disorder, when I went into
that country Last, and have Known a person since my
arrival in England, Which was troubled with a giddiness
in his head, and Subject to fainting fitts, by using this
plant made strong, twice a Day, has found a Great Deal
of Benefitt by itt. but as to the Indians using itt I must
conterdict the Author, for to my certain Knowledge,
their is none of the Indians usd. it in any shape; so fair
from using itt I have offer'd some to them when they
have Refus'd. itt with a Great Dislike; Shaggamittee
also they do not use when they are indispose'd, any more
then at another time; being as common a Drink to them
as small Beer is to us &c.

Page 170² It's true good Meadow Ground their is, and
itt's also to be observ'd we have pease, cabbage, turnips,
*for
cabbage
Read
Collwards*

¹ See p. 97.

² Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 170, "... By the Sides of Lakes and Rivers
there is abundance of wild Rice, which, if cultivated, would make good Food.
Long Grass and good Meadow-Ground; and at the Factories, are tolerable

& Salletts at York fort, but then it's to be consider'd where these Seeds Grows is to the Southwd. and close under the fort Shelter'd from the N. & N.Et. Winds, for if we Sow any Seeds open or clear of Shelter. Such Seeds will come up, but Such plants, or herbs wither's and comes to no perfection, and altho it's warmer a considerable Distance in Land, yet the Distance the Author mentions, the winters are of as Long continuance, and frequently more snow then by the Sea shore, Which is one Reason Why the Ground does not freeze so Deep; for where the Snow Lyes Deep their the ground is Less froze, therefore in course Sooner thaw'd.

page 170 Here the Author Say's " Lead Orr is to be found, on the Surface of the Earth in plenty at Churchill."

What the Author here intimates of Orr being found at Churchill, is Nothing but a sort of Red Oaker, for the Information he might have had of Lead Orr, being found any Where near that place is false; an Orr their was, of which I had try'd when in England before, and Since my arrival Now, proves to be of no Sort of Metle, its consistant being only of a Sulfurious Nature &c. and this I can possatively affirm that I never heard of minerals

Gardens, especially at *York-Fort, Albany, and Moose-River*, where most kinds of English Garden Stuff grow very well, such as Pease, Beans, Cabbage, Turnips, and many kinds of Sallads ; but then the Country is much more fruitful farther within Land, than at those Places ; for there it is much warmer in Summer, and the Frosts are far less severe, as well as the Winter shorter ; so that the Ground neither freezes so deep, nor remains so long unthawed."

of any Signification discov'd yet, any Where about Churchill, or York fort more then the red Oaker aforemention'd. as to What their may be further to the Northward, or Southwd. of those places I can not Say, more then this.¹

The Author Says "not to mention a Very Rich "copper mine, from whence the Northward Indians "frequently brings pieces to Churchill";

it's true some such pieces of copper I have seen, but Whether it's not pieces of copper they found, Such as potts &c. by the Loss of Shipping; or Whether they gett itt of other Nations I can not Say. for they Give but a Very bad acct. of these mines, Differing Very much, Some of these Natives affirms that they pick this copper up off the Surface of the Ground, and by beating itt between two Stones, takes all the Drose from itt, and by so Sementing Severall pieces togeather produces these Large pieces that they bring to the fort, Others Say's they gett this copper two feet from under the Ground, in Small peices Scattering up and down in places, all which acct. I have frequently Examin'd these Northern Indians by an interpreter when at Churchill, by which altho they Differ in their acct. yet they affirm two Such places their is, where they find this Ore, but how, or which way a passage Can be found to these places I can not tell; for they all in Generall do affirm that all the Lakes, and Rivers, near that Ocean, are fast all the

¹ See p. 134.

Summer, the Ice never breaking up (i.e.) Observations
on Hudsons Bay.¹

Certainly it is, that few people who have been in those Northern parts, and have Left itt but for one Year, are Desirious of Returning again,² Nay we have had some that has Left itt some Year's, and Yet have had a Longing Desire for to Return; tho' this Seem's Extroardinary, Yet their is many Reasons for their so Doing; as for Example

I will not presume to Say all people are Subject to such faculty's as I shall here observe; but some thier is that has been many Years from their Native country; at their Return amongst their freinds; (or if had none might soon find some,) being flush of money. that by their profuseness of Living have Exhosted thier stock before the Expiration of one Year, for the want of proper Oeconomy, are Obligd. to Retire into those Northern parts for a Livilyhood.

I can but Observe that some persons that has been many Years in those parts, Know's not what itt's to work

¹ See p. 179.

² Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 180-81, " . . . From this long Account of the Severity of their Winters, it is natural for my Readers to conclude this Country, the most uncomfortable in the World, and it's Inhabitants the most unhappy. But in fact however, they are very far from it. If the Weather is cold they have Abundance of Beaver-Skins to clothe them, and many other Conveniences, that put them in some Measure, at least, on a Level, with those who live in a milder Clime. But what in this Respect will appear much more extraordinary, I dare assert, that People from *Europe*, who have lived here for some Years, prefer it to all other Places, and when they leave it, and come Home with the Ships, they grow tired in a few Months, of a more moderate Climate, and wish with Impatience for the proper Season, that may give them an Opportunity of revisiting these frozen Regions."

for a Livilyhood when in England, or if they did, the work they have ab't the fort, being chiefly of an Easy Nature, intermixt with Varity of pleasures, such as hunting, fishing &c. that when in England they can not fix to heard Labr. after such a Long time of Ease and pleasure, therefore are glad of Returning; not mention'g the clear proffitt they find they can Gain; a proof of which, a man at £23/18 [sic] pr. anm. which is 9s. a week in England can not save clear at the Years End above 4 or 5 D. whereas a frugal man will Clear £4 out of £6 Yearly in those parts, and Severall other Reasons which the author does not mention which proves it is not the pleasantness of the Country that makes men prefer itt to all other places, but the Ease, pleasure, and in truth the proffitt they Gain by thier Sallery Yearly &c.

Niether does itt appear Reasonable, that men were badly us'd in the Country, when the Author Say's such men are so Desirious of Returning into those parts; Nay Severall of their own men, (Notwithstanding the bad usage, as is Reported the factory men Suffer'd) wou'd have Stayd with me withall their harts.

The Author page 187:¹ here Observes that the french Sells the Indians no brandy, the Chief Reason for that

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 186-8, "... It must be owned their [Indian] Diseases are but few, and those chiefly arising from Colds, taken after drinking Spirituous Liquors, which they buy from the English, contrary to the wiser Maxims of the French, who sell them none. The French esteem the drinking these Liquors not only prejudicial to the Constitutions of the Natives, but also to their Trade ; for as that depends upon their Hardiness, Dexterity and

is; Because the Carriadge is too Weighty, as is also Hatchetts, Ice Chissels, &c. for to transport up country, otherwise wou'd no Doubt, trade such, for what Little they have is Distributed amongst the Natives; and further he Say's upland Indians will not Drink of this Liquor, this Assertion is false, for in truth they Drink of itt as free as the Low Lander's, Seldom or Ever trading what we call small fur's, for any thing Else but brandy.

I can not deny but itt wou'd have been better for them, had they never been accostomd. to Spiritious Liquor's, which has been the chief cause of Ludness &c. they are pron'd to now; but as itt has been practic'd for these many Years, so itt wou'd be next to impossability to break them from itt now without being a Great Determt. to trade.

Neither are these Indians what the Author wou'd make the Reader imagine for their is Little Difference between those home Indians and the upland Indians,

Success in Hunting, it must necessarily decline, as these Qualities are impaired. This is obvious also, in Point of Fact, amongst those *Indians*, who have an Intercourse with the *English*. The inland *Indians* will not drink Brandy, from an Opinion of it's bad Effects ; these are a healthy, tall, active and robust People, who bring down as many Furs as the Conveniency of the Carriage will allow, and leave many more behind. Whereas those *Indians*, who are addicted to Drunkenness, such as the Home *Indians*, or those who live in Places contiguous to the *Hudson's-Bay Company's Settlements*, are a meagre, small, and indolent Kind of People, hardly equal to the Hardships of the Country, and subject to many Disorders. Besides, there is no Comparison in the Number of Furs that the one and the other bring into Trade ; so that these latter are rendered much more unprofitable and useless, than they would have been, if they had never known the Use of this pernicious Liquor."

Whosomever according to his account of the Country these Low Landers, ought to Endure the hardships of the Country, better then the Uplander's where he say's they are in a more moderate climate.

It's true an accident happen'd Something after the Nature the Author mentions,¹ and it is true also, that the account he gives is only a Curmize that Such a contest might happ'n between the parents for the sake of the Children, but in Reallity they were Equaly Desirious of saving their own Lives, as they was that of their children; for the Cannoe in Company being small wherein was two Young men, therefore not being capable of holdg. them all, the woman was Drown'd being furthest from them; and further, had itt been the intentions to have sav'd all;

¹ Ibid., p. 189-91, " . . . An extraordinary Instance of this [affection for their children] happened lately at York-Fort: Two small Canoes, passing Hayes's River, when they had got to the middle of it, one of them, which was made of the Bark of a Birch Tree, sunk, in which was an Indian, his Wife and Child: The other Canoe being small, and incapable of receiving more than one of the Parents, and the Child, produced a very extraordinary Contest between the Man and his Wife, not but that both of them were willing to devote themselves to save the other, but the Difficulty lay in determining which would be the greatest Loss to the Child. The Man used many Arguments to prove it more reasonable, that he should be drowned, than the Woman. But she alledged on the contrary, it was more for the Advantage of the Child, that she should perish, because he, as a Man, was better able to hunt; and, consequently, to provide for it. The little Time there was still remaining, was spent in mutual Expressions of Tenderness, the Woman strongly recommending, as for the last Time, to her Husband, the Care of her Child. This being done, they took leave in the Water, the Woman quitting the Canoe was drowned, and the Man with the Child got safe a-shore, and is now taken much Notice of by the People thereabouts. Upon the whole it appears, that the single Object in View, was the Preservation of their Child; for tho' the Man offered to sacrifice himself, it may be very well supposed it was more for the Sake of the Child than of the Woman; because on other Occasions they behave with no great Respect to the Sex."

(as itt so happen'd) She was Gone before they cou'd have well gott to her Assistance.

Page 191. They alway's Drink with their wives out of the same Vessel unless it is when the women have a Disorder &c. as pr. Observations on Hudsons Bay.

And further says he, When their parents Grow's old their own Children strangle's them¹ &c. an odd acct. to the contrary when the Natives are Lightheadd. or in a mad fitt, they frequently attempt to Kill thier wife or children, or any other Indn. that is near, in Such a case, thier wife, or other Indians will put them to Death, by Shooting them or Killing them with a hatchet, for their own preservation and this I have known for truth.

page 192:² this Showes plain that the Author is Very Little acquainted with the Nature of the Country or the

¹ See p. 98. Cf. Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, pp. 191-2, "It is looked upon as a great Offence, for the Women to stride over the Legs of the Men when they sit on the Ground, and they even think it beneath them to drink out of the same Vessel with their Wives. One Custom they have, which is very extraordinary; that when their Parents grow so old, as to be incapable to support themselves by their own Labour, they require their Children to strangle them, and this is esteemed an Act of Obedience in their Children to perform. The Manner of discharging this last Duty, is thus, the Grave of the old Person being dug, he goes into it, and after having conversed and smoaked a Pipe, or perhaps drank a Dram or two with their Children, the old Person signifies he is ready; upon which two of the Children put a Thong about his Neck, one standing on one Side, and the other opposite to him, pull violently till he is strangled, then cover him with Earth, and over that they erect a kind of rough Monument of Stones. As for such old Persons as have no Children, they request this Office from their Friends, tho' in this last Case, it is not always complied with."

² Ibid., pp. 192-3, "... There are many amongst them, especially those inhabiting upon the Banks of the great inland Lakes, who profess Quacking, with Stuff they buy from the *English*; such as Sugar, Ginger, Barley, Allspice,

Indians; When he Say's by such commodity's one third of the trade is carried on amongst the Quacks, the Stuffs as they Buy as he term's itt, I say they do not ascribe so much to any Disseases', as they do for the Desire of having them for other usses, not here mention'd and Did not they Receive some Benefitt by them it is not to be imagin'd they wou'd be so importuning for to have such; if the french finds no Disadvantage, or Detrimt. by giving the Natives such medicines, as they do in Great Quantity's why shou'd we Defer assisting those people with Such; Some of which I can prove is of Very Great Service; Such as Ointmts. &c. in case of Burn's scold's &c. therefore can not conceive how itt can be prejudicial to them or us.

This acct.¹ of the Indians he mentions is not near the truth; happen'd when I was their in the Year 1738: or

Garden-Seeds, Spanish-Liquorish, Snuff, &c. all which are taken in small Quantities, either as Remedies for Diseases, or to make them excel in Hunting, Fowling, Fishing, Fighting, &c. which are Qualities ascribed to these Trifles by the *English* in *Hudson's Bay*, and with such Commodities, one third of our Trade is carried on amongst those Quacks, who practise for Furs, which they receive from, or rather, out of which they deceive, the common People. This is a great, but very beneficial Imposition, tho' certainly it would be much more for the Advantage of *Great-Britain*, to promote the Sale of their Woollen and Iron Manufacture, than to permit such a kind of Traffick, which besides being scandalous in it's Nature, is equally prejudicial in its Consequences to us and to the Natives."

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7, "GREAT as these Hardships are, which result from the Rigour of the Cold; yet it may be justly affirmed, that they are much inferior to those, which they feel from the Scarcity of Provisions, and the Difficulty they are under in procuring them. A Story which is related at the Factories, and known to be true, will sufficiently prove this, and give the compassionate Reader a just Idea of the Miseries, to which these unhappy People are exposed. An Indian, with his Family, coming down to Trade, from a Place at a very great Distance,

9: which I suppose is what the Author intimates; as I was
present shall Lay Down the truth of this malinco'ly affair.

This Indian and his wife, went from the fort in the fall of the Year with Several family's of Indians for their winter Quarters; when arriv'd as Usual, they Seperated for to seek for provisions, commonly no more then two family's togeather, but this man having a Good family of his own, and being a good hunter & a Young able man chus'd to go by himself; When he had not Long been by himself & family, he was taken Lame, and not able to seek provisions for his family, and being a great way from the fort, his stock of provision's was Exhausted, the wife not being able to provide for them by catching Rabbits &c. then being drove to Necessity, the wife made a shift, (and a poor shift God Know's) by Eating their shoes &c.) to conduct him and children about three Day's, nigher the fort, where they had Left a Stage of provisions, as a Reserve in the fall of the Year; but to their great Disappointmt. when they arriv'd at this place,

had the Misfortune to meet but with very little Game by the Way ; so that, in a short Time, himself, his Wife, and his Children, were reduced to the last Distress. In these Circumstances, they plucked the Fur from their Clothes, and preserved Life as long as they were able, by feeding on the Skins they wore ; but even this wretched Resource soon failed them ; and then, what is terrible to conceive, and horrible to relate, these poor Creatures sustained themselves, by feeding on the Flesh of two of their Children. On their Arrival at the Factory, the distracted *Indian*, whose Heart overflowed with Grief, told this melancholy Affair to the *English Governor*, with all it's affecting Circumstances, which was received with a loud Laugh. The poor Savage, with a Look of Amazement, said in his broken English, *This is no Laughing Talk!* and so went his Way, highly edified, no Doubt, with these *Christian Morals.*"

other Indians had been their & took their Reserve away. then this poor unhappy creatures when in the Uttermost Distress, the man Still ailing, nothing to Subsist on they now singe the hair of their cloaths, &c. for to Eat but as that availd Little in Supplying their wants; they now Jointly fix upon Killing their children; which they Did accordingly Kill 4 of their chldn. Eating the chiefest part, Which brought them to the fort, in a Very Sorryfull Condition; I immeadiately took care of them had my Surgeon to bleed them; &c. tell such times they came to their Selves, and capable of going out to their Country people, which was three weeks, and near 14 Day's before they cou'd be brought to Eat Drest meat &c. and What was most unaccountable was the Killing the Eldest child first who was able to hawl the man. this is the truth of the condition of these Indians; Which the Author Know's nothing of, more than What he had been inform'd by them that Knew no more than himself; as is also the chief of his accout. As to his Saying they was Receiv'd with a Loud Laugh; and that the poor Savage with a Look of amazemt. said in his broken English this is no Laughing talk! is Notorious false, being only a Romance of his own framing.

Page 198.¹ The women are not Oblig'd to procure frequent Abortions, for they are too forrow'd in being

¹ Ibid., p. 198, "...I cannot avoid mentioning a very strange Maxim of Policy, which prevails much amongst them; and which is, that of suffering, or rather obliging their Women to procure frequent Abortions, by the Use of a certain Herb common in that Country, and not unknown here; that they may

Guilty of Such of themselves, contrary to the Knowledge of their Husbands.

It's usual for the women as well as men for to squat Down, when they have a call for Evacuation that way. Unless it is some few who are imputant creatures.

I mentiond. concerning this before, but as the Author Enlarges further page 201.¹ I think itt not improper to answer itt.

Where Say's he, " no Sollicitations were spar'd to the " Govr. of York fort for Relief," and further he Say's, " they wou'd willingly have Supply'd us, but the " Indians was charg'd not to come a near us, because " they had a contagious Distemper amongst them, and " that they were Equal Enemies to them as well as the " English, therefore the Indians wou'd not approach " their Dwellings, But these insinuation's prov'd " afterwards a Determent to trade, as well as to us, for " having the proper Effect on the minds of those people, " Very few came Down to York fort to trade the " following Year," and further he Say's, " this appear'd " Still more plainly when at Last partly by fear, partly " by other mean's the Governr. was prevaild upon, to " Give the Indians Leave to furnish us with Eight or ten " Carcasses of Venison, for which we pay'd above ten

in some Measure be eased of that heavy Burthen they feel, in providing for a helpless Family. . . . They differ also from almost all other Nations in another Particular, which is their manner of making Urine; for here the Men always squat down, and the Women stand upright."

¹ Ibid., pp. 201-03.

" times the Value, of What they cost him in Salt
" provisions."

first he Observes no Sollicitations were Spar'd, itt is true they did sent to me for provisions; but then if they do but consider in Wt. Necessity I was my self they Cou'd not in Justice Requ're such from me, who was Oblig'd to gett some provisions of them in trust till I cou'd pay them in fresh, Which I did according to their Capt. proposals and Satisfaction; therefore wondr. at the author's assertion in Saying they payd ten times the Value, further these Sollittiations were Explain'd in a Very unbecoming Nature Vizt. " If I did not send them " provisions they wou'd plant both sides of the River " that neither English, nor Indians shou'd pass up or " down the Rivr. &c." as my Journals will prove.¹

Secondly he Say's the Indians was Chargd. not to go a nigh them; true I did order them not to go a nigh their ships or Dwellings, in order that no clandestine Dealings shou'd be carried on, But not as the Author say's of their having a Distemper, and thier being Enemies to them & us an unheard of account! so contrary to my Nature.

As to their wintering their, certainly, and without Dispute, was a great hinderance to the Ensuing trade, for at the first arrival of the ships, some upland Indians going away, not Knowing in truth, who or What they were, suggested Differt. Notions of them, which soon Spreading over the Country, hinder'd them from

¹ See Appendix A, p. 291.

comming as Usual; Neither can I believe any of our men cou'd be Guilty of such Baseness the Author intimates.

They Know Very well I never Let the Indians give them any provisions, but What I cou'd conveniently Spare, alway's sent such to them, No; itt was not out of fear or any other motive induc'd me to send them such provisions, but a Generious Desire, purely to assist their Necessity's as much as I was able, not to mention the Indians they had to hunt for them who was under the Guardship of mr. frost, but this and all other's of this Nature Refer to my Journals, which Explains after what manner they were usd. &c.

If it was reasonable to credit this,¹ I shou'd be ap't to imagine itt was the Author who is so Wise, as to credit the french actually cast Such into the form for Cannon; for I may Venture to assert that Such English as Recided their never had any Such notion's, itt's true Such stones their is that Distance from the fort, some of an Oval form, and by chance may find some Near around; I once had the curiosity to Know the truth, But when I sent to Search for these imaginary stone shott they Brought me some common blew stone, some of an oval & other shapes but none near a Round.

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 211, "ABOUT seven Miles from this Fort, there is a large Ridge of Stones, and amongst them a vast Quantity of Pyrites exactly round, and very near the Size of a Six Pound Shot, which the *English*, who reside here, are so wise as to believe, the *French* actually cast into that Form, for their Cannon, when they attacked this Place."

I can not here Deny but that if our prest. Company was to Lower their standard in some things wou'd be a means to Encrease their trade,¹ Equal as much as a Settlement higher up, true it is the Indians has no Liking to the french, some Going to them more out of fear then

¹ Ibid., pp. 212-4, "THIS [York Fort] is looked upon to be in all Respects the most valuable of the *Hudson's-Bay* Company's Settlements; because the most considerable Part of their Trade is carried on here, where it is computed they deal for between forty and fifty thousand rich Furs annually; and according to the Information I received from different Persons, which from their Consistency with each other, appeared to me the more credible, this Commerce might be raised with very little Industry, to five Times it's present Value. But by an unaccountable Policy, at least considered in a national Light, the Company discourage their Factories from extending the Trade, and give themselves no Sort of Trouble to prevent the *French*, who are making daily Encroachments upon them, from settling upon their Rivers, and intercepting the choicest Kind of Furs, such as Otters, Martins, or Sables; which they purchase, because they are lightest, and, consequently, fittest for Carriage, as the Places where they buy them are at a great Distance from the *French* Settlements, so that heavy and coarse Goods would scarce turn to any Account; and they have the fairest Opportunity that can be of doing this, because the Natives are always inclined to deal with them preferable to the *English*. The Reason of this Preference given to the *French*, is a very plain one, *viz.* because they give a much better Price for what they purchase than is given by the *English*, as will evidently appear by considering that STANDARD, which the Company has established for the Regulation of their Trade. This Standard consists in reducing all Skins to Beaver; as for Instance: They reckon two Otters equal to a Beaver; in like manner, three Martins, and so of other Skins; whereas in Fact, each of those Skins is of greater Value than a Beaver; and, consequently, the Natives buy our Goods at thrice the Price that they can purchase them for from the *French*. It is true, that the *Indians* have Beaver Skins enought to supply their Wants, but as these are heavy and unfit for Carriage; they are constrained to bring down the lightest and most saleable, which is a great Hardship upon them, and if the *French* were as near the *Northern*, as they are to the *Southern* Settlements, there is no doubt, that the Company's Trade, would be far from being so considerable as it is; for at *Moose-River* and *Albany* they can hardly purchase any thing, but the Refuse of the *French*; and yet an easy Remedy might be applied to this Evil, by dealing a little more upon the Square; for as on the one Hand, it is certain that the Natives have no particular liking to the *French*, so it is no less certain on the other, that we have it not only in our Power to sell as cheap as they, but even to undersell them, as we should undoubtedly do, if this Trade were not a Monopoly."

Love, other's for profft. for it is Reasonable to imagine that those Indians which border's upon the same spotts as the french, Nay Even traps on the same ground, wou'd Sooner go to them to Dispose of their commodity's when they can have for one cas'd catt, or four martins, $\frac{1}{2}$ Yd. of cloth, and so of other things; whereas they must give with us, Six Martins or 2 Catts for $\frac{1}{2}$ yd. of cloth; not to mention the Distance they have to come for commodity's which cost them so much more: But then in other furr's, Such as Beaver, for $\frac{1}{2}$ yd. cloth they give four beaver skins, whereas with us, but two beaver skins; for which Reason, and being heavy Burthensome commodity's the french trades but Little beaver; therefore the means' to Enlarge the trade is to Lower the Standard of small furr's, Such as Martins, catts, &c. they being pretty sure of the chiefest part of Beaver the Natives can procure at presant.

Page 214: Here its worth observing how the Author Exposes his folly in a most Ludicrous manner—for as this person pretends to be of great sense an affability in his Nature, itt wou'd have become him to have wrote with more candour then What he has; But this is not to be wonder'd at some persons are in Nature of a Spitefull Disposition, where they can not Effect their Desighns to their own will and pleasure; (Had I Disposd. of part of the cargo, which I had in trust, for my masters, amongst them, as I have understood the Hudsons Bay

compy. was inform'd, by some Malitious person's, but that I thank God I am capable of clearing my self in; for not only the factory men, but their Whole ship's company can not say with truth and Justice; that I wrong'd the Company in any shape of that Nature. the Author then wou'd have wrote with more partiallity towards me. One thing more I shall here observe of this Author, Where say's he page 214

" A Nother Singular maxim in the Company's policy
" is this, that they commonly Chuse their factors from
" amongst the meanest and most Illiterate of their
" Servants; and it is Easy to apprehend, that such
" people are the Least Likely to make improvements in
" trade, Espetially when they have to Do with Rivals so
" cunning as the french; yet it must bee confes'd they
" have Subtily anough to over reach the poor Indians,
" by clapping their thumb into the measure, when
" they sell them Gunnpowder, and by putting as
" much Water as brandy when they Supply them
" with that commodity ;" All which is Notorious
false.

This Explains the Disposition of the Author as aforemention'd and proves he had but Obscure Notions of the Natives or trade.

I shall not pretend to Vindicate my self in the absurdity stile and character this persons Gives of me; but Whowsomever, so mean, or illiterate this person makes

the Reader to beleive of us factor's in Hudsons Bay, we are capable of answering of him; in a truer & more Reasonable Stile than he is capable off &c.

Having made the aforesaid Remark's of the Author's with Candour as to my Knowledge of the country. I shall further Remark some few Observations of other author's, Wherein I shall not take Notice of what has been frequently Lay'd ope'n to the publick unless it is contrary to truth.

Page 2d¹ here I must Differ from mr. Dobbs', where he Say's; "they also prevent their servants from giving "any acc't of the climate &c." I mention'd before that I do not think itt practicable, nor Yet anyway Benefitial to make Setlements up port Nelson, or Severn River, But then I do not conderdict but that if Setlements, were made amongst the Eskimaux's towards whale Cove and the adjacant countrys there abouts, but great improvemt. might be made, by Whale bone, Oyle, and furr's &c. Which at presant we have but Little Knowledge off;

¹ Dobbs, *Account Of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, pp. 2-3, "... yet in the coldest Parts, even North of the Polar Circle, are inhabited by the *Eskimaux Indians*; and by the Whalebone and Oil, Skins and Furs got there at present, are of considerable Advantage to those who are concerned in that Trade; and if the Trade was laid open, would be of vastly greater Benefit to *Britain*, by affording a considerable Market for our coarse Woolen and Iron Manufactures ... They also prevent their Servants from giving any Account of the Climate or Countries adjacent, that might be favourable, and induce others to trade and settle there; nor do they encourage their Servants, or even allow them to make any Improvements without their Factories, unless it be a Turnip Garden...".

And further he Say's, "Confining them all the
"Summer Season During the time of the Indian's trade
"within their factories, Least they shou'd trade by
"Stealth; and by crane Let down thier goods to the
"Natives, and take up their fur's and Skins in
"Exchange."

The first of which is no more then What is Requisit and Necessary to be Done; but the Latter is a Romance, they trading at a window breast high, wherein they putt their furr's, and take their goods by hand in Exchange; and further I think Severall Author's have Discript the Climate, Country, and passage to Hudsons Bay in too favorable a Light, itt being in Reallity worse then they make itt therefore can not think itt possable, Neither is it consistant with Reason that proper Necessary's &c. Which we have at presant from England, cou'd be procur'd in those countries, Neither can mr. Dobbs' or any other person conterdict this assertion, unless they winter in that country some Year's; when they wou'd be too well Satisfied of the false acots. they have been made to beleive of the Country.

Page 14: This is a mistake of Button's, "of his acct.
"of wintering at Nelson River, in 57° where Say's he,
"itt wou'd appear that the winter was not so Long or
"severe, at Nelson as at Albany in 52° .¹ Occation'd as I

¹ *H.B.S.*, XI, xxix-xxxii, "Throughout the Bay the strongest winds blow from the Arctic north-west, increasing in violence as autumn approaches... As a result the East Main presents a surface of cold barren tundra while the West

" suppose from the Strength and highth of the tide there,
" which rises 14 feet, when at Albany itt Does not Rise
" above 4 feet; where he Say's the River was not above
" a mile Wide over, it was not froze over untill the 16th
" of feb'y. and the River was clear of Ice the 21st of
" Aprill."

I have winter'd both at Churchill and near Nelson River, and all the Difference of the severity of the Cold, I cou'd find, is chiefly owing to Churchill fort being built upon an Emenancy almost surroundd. by the Sea, and was Nelson River but a mile over as Button observes, thier wou'd be but Little Difference between that and Hays's River freezing fast, which is Commonly the begining of Novr. But Nelson River is above 9 miles wide, at the Enterance of which River being full of sholes, intermixt with high Stones, occation's when any wind a great Serf in that River therefore hinder's the Ice cementing togeather; tell by the Severity of the Cold the Ice is froze to such a Substance that the flood tide is not Suffitient to float Such Ice of these Sholes, which in some measure allay's the Surf by which mean's the Ice within fastn's which is Commonly the Latter End of Dec'r. or begining of January, and not open again tell the begining or midle of may.

Main in the same latitudes carries a forest cover... The dominant arctic air-stream ... flowing from north-west to south-east accounts for the fact that there is relatively little difference between the climates of Port Nelson and the Bottom of the Bay in spite of some seven degrees difference in latitude...".

I can not conceive why Joseph La france,¹ who pretented to Know so much of the Country, as no Doubt but he Did the south parts, shou'd Give no better, or truer acc't of itt as mr. Dobbs mention's, a great Deal of Which I Know to be Very Eroneous, one thing in particular I shall here Remark.

Where he say's page 43: they give but a pound of Gunnpowdr. for 4 beaver, a fathom of tobacco for 7 beaver, an Ell of coarse cloth for 15 br. a Gunn for 25: and so by Severall other articles, Which is Like many other false assertions, of that Country and the Natives; for in Conterdiction to Such, they Give but one beavr. for $\frac{3}{4}$ pd. of powdr. two beavr. for a fathom of tobacco, 5 b'r. for an Ell of Cloth, and 14 beavr. for a Gunn &c. Which is fair from wt. mr. Dobb's asserts; Neither does itt Vary much from the Standard of trade.

¹ For an outline of the life and travels of Joseph la France, see Dobbs, *An Account Of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, pp. 29-45, or *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), pp. 243-8. A map showing "the Western Rivers & Lakes falling into Nelson River in Hudson's Bay as described By Joseph La France . . . who Travailed thro those Countries and Lakes for 3 Years from 1739 to 1742" is appended to Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks Upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .* (London, 1744). B. 239/a/23 shows that la France appeared at York Factory on June 4, 1742, with a band of "Keish kache won" Indians. On account of some "ill Usage to his Consort and himself" at the French settlements, he refused, at whatever cost, to leave York Factory. As the Englishmen were forbidden to harbour Frenchmen they had no alternative but to send him to England. A. 1/35, p. 344, shows that his furs were sold at the Company's sale held on November 11 and that on December 2, 1742, he received £19 5s. 10d. for them. According to the evidence given by Arthur Dobbs before the Parliamentary Committee of 1749, la France was maintained at the expense of the Admiralty "on a Prospect of his being of Service on the Discovery of a North-west Passage", but he was "since deceased".

Was itt also true that 100 cannoes arriv'd at York fort with Joseph La france, with 200 packs of 100 Each, and that 600 of these cannoes arrivd. in one Year, as the Author mentions, the trade wou'd be 60,000 beaver's besides martins, which is a Deal more then Ever was traded in one Year at that place.

As to mr. Dragg's Last Book,¹ itt wou'd be only a Repitition of the same thing over again, I therefore do not think it Reasonable to make any Remarks upon itt, more then I can but Observe he is more perticular as to truth then the aforemention'd Author's.

Many things which I have Remarkt. altho of Little Signification, Yet itt Explains how Different thier accounts are from truth.

I have perus'd. Eleven afferdavids,² by ten Different persons, but as I had not the Liberty to take Down any Remark's on the Same, therfore can not Enlarge any further unless I had Such Liberty; howsomever what I read in Such Afferdds. I thing is not worth Regarding.

¹ This is a reference to Clerk of the California, *An Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Streights, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America. Performed in the Year 1746 and 1747, in the Ship California, Capt. Francis Smith, Commander* (London, 1748 and 1749), 2 vols. See Appendix A, pp. 265, 277.

² Presumably Isham was referring to some of the evidence collected for the Select Committee of 1749. See *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), pp. 215-34.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

A Journal¹ of the most material
Transactions, and Copys of Letters between
Mr. James Isham & Council at York Fort, and
Capt. William Moor, Capt. Francis Smith and
their Council during their Wintering in Hayes's

River { Commencing 26 August, 1746.
 { Ending 24 June 1747

¹ B. 239/a/29.

1746
Augt.
the 26th

YORK FORT AMERICA

TUESDAY a fine gale at NbEt. untill Noon then a fine
brease at Et.—at 12 forenoon see 2 ships & four boats in the
offen, making for the mouth of the River wch. we took to be
Enemy's¹ Directly fir'd. a gun & Rung the bell as an alarm to
our men, sent 2 Inds. up the River for our men at the woods,
sent 2 Inds. down in the marsh, wn. all our men & Inds. came
to the fort, at 2 one of the ships groundd. to the Northwd. of
the outer Beacon, the other Brought too to the southd. of the
Said Beacon right in the fair way. Expecting the *Churchill*
Sloop to arrive, had not took up 3 fathom hole Buoy, the Buoy
at the point of stones & Cross barr Buoy; therefore as soon as
we see the ships & that the tide serv'd I sent Mr. John Hall² &
6 men well arm'd Down who cutt away the outer Beacon, the
Beacons at the point of marsh,³ & Brought the Said Buoys all
home. Loaded all our Cannon, shotted them. Everything in
as proper order as possible for a Vigirous Defence, at 3
afternoon the ship to the Eastwd. of the Beacon came to an
anchor in 5 fathom hole, the other still a ground. Sent our
yaw'l to the French Creek for our men on that Side. at 4 the
Ship at anchor fir'd 7 guns, both ships English penants flying,
at 10 Evening our boate Returnd. wth. the above Buoys; who
inform'd us the ships was wt. they calld. the *Dobbs galley*; Wm.

¹ See p. 203, n. 2. The instructions sent to York Factory in 1746 stated: "Warr still continuing with France and Spain we strictly Order You to be allways on your Guard and to keep a good Watch and your Men near home... We Confirm and Renew Our former Orders that You Fire Point Blank upon any Ship Sloop or Vessel that comes near the Factory unless they make the true Signal and Answer Yours..." (A. 6/7, fo. 92d.).

² A. 6/7, fo. 93, shows that John Hall, shipwright, was master of the *Whale* sloop and a member of James Isham's council.

³ See Robson, *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*, Plate No. 1, "A Draught of Nelson & Hayes's Rivers . . ." for the sites of the various localities mentioned throughout Isham's journal.

Moor Commandr. & the *Callifornia*¹ Francis Smith 1746 Commander, they sending their boate to our boate after the beacon was Down, & askd. our people was that all the Spite we cou'd do them; wch. was all the Conversation that past between the boats; I ordering our boate not to go on board upon any acct. nor to Venture too Nigh if they observd. them to be an Enemy.

WEDNESDAY Little wind at N.Wt. & Very warme the 27th weather. at 10 forenoon the ship that was a ground fleted, & came to an anchor by the other, in 5 fathom hole, at the same time their boats a Sounding, at 11 fir'd. 2 shott 12 pounders, between *the ships & boats*, wch. Brought. them too, the Distance 4½ mile the shott *Drop't ½ way*, at one Sent the Cutter & 4 hands; with mr. Hall, to Know wt. their Design's was, they acting so much Like Enemy's by Sounding all abt. the mouth of the River & not Sending their boats to the fort.

To the Commanders of the 2 ships in 5 fathom hole,²
Gentlemen,

We wou'd advice you for your own Safety not to proceed any further wth. your ships, boats or Vessels, any where near or abt. this fort, unless you Send a person with a proper Authority from the Governmt. or Company trading into this Bay.—for so Doing; otherwise we shall do our uttermost Endeavours to hinder any ship or boate from Entering this River.

This is our firm Resolution,

York Fort
Hays's River
Augt. the 27th, 1746

Signd. James Isham
Charles Brady³
John Hall

¹ A copy of the log of the *California* covering the period May 13, 1746, to October 14, 1747, is in the Company's archives.

² See p. 205, n. 2. This letter is also printed in *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), p. 283.

³ A. 6/7, fo. 93, names Charles Brady as the surgeon at York Factory and a member of James Isham's council.

1746
Augt.

at 5 Evening hoisted a Whif & fir'd a gun for our boate, at 7 fir'd another gun for our boate from the ships, & at 9 our boate returnd. with one of the ships boats, with 2¹ of their Councel, who Brought his prest. Majesty's Commission² for us to peruse; Which they shou'd have sent wn. they first appear'd of the Rivers mouth wch. wou'd have savd. us a Deal of trouble & time &c. they also Brought. a Letter from the Captains signd. by all the Consul as follows,

“Sir,

“ We have receivd. yours of this Day in answer to wch. we
 “ must acquaint you, as we are under a Necessity of wintering
 “ in some part of hudsons Bay, we make choice of this place
 “ as the most secure & convenient and therefore Expect
 “ shelter & countenance as Subjects of Great Briton, &
 “ conformable to his Majesty's commission & commands for
 “ that purpose, we in his Name Require your aid & assistance,
 “ in whatsoever may be Necessary or conducive to the
 “ preservation of our ships & Lives, which commands of his
 “ Majesty's for your perusal, Satisfaction & authority, we
 “ send you by two of our councel, one from Each of our ships,

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 151, states that “Mr. Holding and I [Henry Ellis] went with this Answer. . .”

² Clerk of the *California, Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage . . .*, I, 118-19, August 27, “. . . a Boat arriving from the Factory, those in her bringing a Letter from the Governor, a Council was called on Board of the *Dobbs*, to consider of such Letter; wherein the Governor tells the Commanders, not to come higher with the Ships at their Peril, unless shewing a proper Authority from the Government, or the Company trading in those Parts. As to the *Hudson's Bay Company*, the Captains had no Authority from them; what they had from the Act of Parliament made in Favour of this Expedition no one could tell, not having it with them; and as to any other Authority, no one of the Council knew where to seek it, until shewn by Capt. *Smith*, in a Clause of the Commissions which both Ships had as Privateers, and by which they had a Right to any Assistance that that Port could supply them with, and by Consequence, could not be opposed in going to harbour where the Commanders pleased; though it was not the Intention that the ships should go higher up, being only to wait there, where they were at Anchor, until a Harbour was found in Port *Nelson River*. A Letter was wrote, and two Persons, one from each Ship, went with it, carrying also the two Privateer Commissions.”

" at the same time promissing on our parts, to observe strictly 1746
 " the several articles contain'd in his Majesty's said commission Augt.
 " wch. intitles us to your protection & assistance, this is the
 " Resolution of Sir, Your most Humble Servts.

<i>Dobbs Galley</i>	Wm. Moor	Jerimh. Westall
augt. 27: 1746	Francis Smith,	James Guyne
	James Holding	Edwd. Thompson
	Wm. Johnson	Henry Elliss
	John meteakse	

by this we understood they was in a Necessity of wintering at this place, his Majesty's Commission we perusd. wn. I askd. advice of my officers, wt. was proper to be done in this case, wn. we thought it Convenient & Requisit that the 2 commanders shou'd come up to the fort to consult abt. the wintering the said ships &c. therefore sent their boate back at 11 at Night wth. the following answer.

Gentlemen,

We have perus'd his Majesty's commission & Your Letter, & upon further consideration think itt proper for one or both of the Commanders to come up to the factory, to consult upon the Necessity you mention, you are in; & of the proper manner for wintering the said ships &c. wch. is all the answer we can make you at prest.

York fort Hay's Rivr.

augt. 27th 1746

James Isham
Charles Brady
John Hall

the Ships fir'd 15 Guns Each, wch. we suppose to be a Salute to the fort. I Return'd None.

THURSDAY Little w'd & Variable Very fine weather, at one Noon the *Dobbs galley's* pinnace Capt. Moor Commander & Cap't smith of the *Calliferna* came up to the factory, & consulted with them about their comming here to winter, where their is no safety for a ship, w'n they informd. me that by the Consuls they had calld., they was over power'd from wintering

1746
Augt.

at any other place but this River or port Nelson; we advicd. them to the contrary for the safety of ships & men, telling them Churchill River was the only place to winter at of the two, for the Safety of their ships, being unpossable to winter them here without a great Risque of Lossing them at the breaking up of the Rivers, they still insisted upon wintering here; I then perswaded them to try port Nelson River, wch. if not answer'd to Let me Know, that we might consult upon further methods, at 4 they went on board promissing so to Do.

the 29th

FRIDAY Little wind at Wt. SWt. & cloudy warme weather, at ten forenoon observ'd 4 boats to go from the ships, for to Sound in port Nelson River. I also understood yesterdy. that the *Dobbs Galley's* complimt. was 44 & the *Calliferna* 32 men; in which no Soldiers. Nor any frame house but have stuff for that purpose.

the 30th

SATURDY. Wind & Weather as Yesterdy. the ships still

the 31st

in 5 fathom hole; no sign of providing for ships or men &c.

SUNDAY Little wind at Wt.S.Wt. & Very warm for the time, this forenoon observ'd at a Distance, the ships Long boats & Yawls are Returnd. from the North River, But Know not yet wt. Success they have made, the ships still Lyes in 5 fathom hole, as quiet as if in the River Thames; not being awair of N.Wt. gales & bad weather that must in course follow after this fine weather. We have seriously inform'd them that they take the only way for to Loose their ships & in Danger of their Lives, if they winter in this River, & the consequence of creeks, Rivilets, &c. when they break open in the Spring of the years; & further informd. them that if any accident happen'd to their ships & Lives it's by their own Neglect &c. as we advicd. them to a place where they might have harbour'd their ships in Safety, at one the wind N.Et.bN. & foggy, at 4 the ships boats Sounded up the River. found Little water, at the same time see a Vessell in the offen wch. I imagind. to be the *Churchill Sloop*, fird. a Gun as an inducement. for her to come in, at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour afterwards see Nothing being a thick fogg, Desird. Capt. Moor if he see any thing of her when he gott on board, to fire 4 Guns & hoiste a whiff that they

might Know their ships, afterwards understood itt was one of 1746
their boats at a great Distance.

MONDAY wind Variable & Very warm for the time. the Sepr.
Capts. informd. me they found 15 foot water in Sounding the the 1^t
River. therefore Sent Mr. Hall in our boate to the bluff &
across the River, found from 4 to 8 fathom water, & in some
holes 12 & 13 fathom water; sent 2 Inds. to the *Cross Creek* to
*Mr. Skrimshire*¹ & *tho's. wiltshire*¹ to Know of them if mr.
White² had Left in their charge, a printed act of parliment³ &
the Company's orders⁴ Last Year, not finding them amongst
the papers Left with me, at noon Return'd informd. me they
had not those nor any other papers, at 5 Evening the *Calliferna*
weighd & came to an anchor in 3 fathom hole, Severall of their
boats Landing goods, abt. 2½ miles below the factory.

TUESDAY blows a fresh gale at WSwt. & Wt.bN. the 2^d
Very hott weather, at 10 forenoon sent our Doctor & 2 hands
on board the *Calliferna* wth. the following:

Gentlemen⁵

According to his prest. Majesty's printd. act of parlimt.
1744 [1745]: we observe that its therein Spetified that no ship
or ships, that are or shou'd be fitted out to go upon a Discovery
thro hudsons Bay into Wager River, & so into the South seas
or otherwise are not to molest or Distur'b the Hudsons Bay

¹ A. 6/7, fo. 93, refers to "Mr. Sam. Schrimshire" as "Second" at York Fort and a member of James Isham's council, and to Thomas Wiltshire as an apprentice.

² Thomas White, who returned to England in 1746. He was Isham's predecessor at York Fort. (*Ibid.*, fo. 91d.)

³ 1745. 18 Geo. II, Cap. 17, "An Act for giving a publick Reward to such Person or Persons, his Majesty's Subject or Subjects, as shall discover a North West Passage through *Hudson's Streights*, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America."

⁴ A. 6/7, fos. 73-4, Governor and Committee to Thomas White and Council at York Factory, May 3, 1745. The instructions urging them to be on their guard against enemies and to watch for strange vessels entering the river were the same as those given in 1746 (see p. 242, n. 1). In addition it was ordered that discovery to the northward was to be deferred until the war with France had ended.

⁵ This letter is also printed in *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), p. 284.

1746
Sept.

Company's Rights & priviliges, in Hudsons Bay, so far as the said Companies Charter Extents in the said Bay—& the said act Spetifies that no person or persons, belonging to Such Discovery ships are not to traffick or trade wth. any natives or any other person or persons, within the Limits of the said Companies Charter, & we observe that in his Majesty's said printed act, & according to the Company's Charter, its our Duty to hinder any ship or ships from Entering in or near any of the Companies territorys in Hudsons Bay so far as their Charter Extents,¹ therefore accordingly we Desire that you wou'd not bring your ships any higher up this Rivr. But to Lay them below Robisons Cully, where you may Expect wt. assistance we are able to make you, so far as our orders are from the Hudsons Bay Company; & Desire your answer to this before you proceed any further; tho at the same time wou'd advice you as before to make the best of your way to Churchill where you are sensible the ships may winter without any Damage.

Sepr. the 2d 1746²James Isham
Charles Brady
Richd. Ford³

At Noon the Doctor Returnd.

the 3d

WEDNESDAY blow'd fresh at times & Squawly wind Variable, the ships Lying as before, their boats a Landing their guns.

the 4th

THURSDY. Little wind at Et.N.Et. & cloudy moderate weather, the ships Long boats I observ'd to go into the french Creek a Sounding.

the 5th

FRIDAY a fine gale at SWt.bWt. & fine weather at 7 morning, tide time the ships weighd. at 10 was both a ground

¹ The above is Isham's interpretation of the fourth and final clause of the Act, which reads : " Provided always, That nothing in this Act shall any ways extend, or be construed to take away or prejudice any of the Estate, Rights, or Privileges of or belonging to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England* trading into *Hudson's Bay*."

² See pp. 209-10.

³ A. 6/7, fo. 93, refers to " Mr. Richard Ford Carpenter " at York Fort as a member of James Isham's council.

below the Cross barr, Rec'd the following paper from on board
the ships in answer to mine of the 2d Instant.

1746
Sepr.

Gentlemen

" We are favour'd with yours of the 2d Instant the purport
" whereof we have attentivily consider'd itt but cou'd not
" conveniently answer itt er'e now, the act of parlmt. you
" Quote of 1744 intirely Depends on and has immediate
" reference to the Hudsons Bay Company's Charter, wherein
" itt is Expressd. that the Rights, privileges, powers, &c.
" granted the said Company shall be Valid or in force so Long
" & so far only, as they are Reasonable & not contrary or
" repugnant to the Laws Statutes & customs of the Realm, &
" that itt is contrary & unreasonable to the Laws &c. customs
" of England to Deny admittance or shelter, in any harbour or
" port in any of the Coloney's belonging to his Majesty or his
" Subjects, or refuse aid & assistance to the Subjects of Great
" Briton in Necessity or Distress, whilst they Conduc't them
" selves agreeable to the Laws in such Cassez provided, we are
" convincd you are sensible of; much Less can itt be Disputed
" when we have his Majesty's Commission & Express orders
" to all his Subjects & alleys for that purpose; nor can you in
" any wise Excuse or Justifie your selves for such Behaviour
" as you menace us with, of firing Guns, at ships of your own
" country under your Soverigns commission & coullers, in
" ope'n & avow'd Defiance & contempt of his Dignity &
" perogative, contrary to the contents & meaning of your
" Charter, the Laws of Great Britian Humanity & Hospitality
" in Endeavoring to Disable, or Distroy people Devoted to
" their Country, Encouragd. & Supported by the King;
" nobility & parlmt. of Englan'd ingagd. in an Enterprize of
" National Concern, & consequence furnishd. with Such
" credentials as wou'd procure us Esteem & protection from
" any Christian State, whatsoever not in ope'n warr with us;
" & as to prohibition you mention of trading wth. the
" inhabitance or others, within the precincts of the Company's
" Charter tis our intent to carry on no illict traffick, with them

1746
Sept.

" or any Commerce: but for the Common Necessity of Life:
" & those only when we can not or shall not be Suplyd with
" them from you: & assure you we have no other motive or
" Design in comming here than that of preservation of our
" ships & Lives; from the Rigour & inclemency of the
" approaching winter. & Demand nothing but what we stand
" in absolute want of; for which Necessary's we shall give you
" Suffitient security for the payment of their Value, or any
" other Reasonable Satisfaction you Require. we think itt
" Requisit however to have an abstract of the Companies
" instructions so far as they relate to us; that we may be
" apprizd wt. we have to Do; or wt. Dependance, we are to
" have on Your Good offices; or the assistance you mention,
" But we can not prevail on our selves to Submit to the hazard
" of Lossing our ships or Lives on any uncertainty nor can we
" harbour the Least thoughts of abondoning or betraying the
" Interest of the Nation, or our Employers, in Neglecting or
" being Diverted from taking the most Expeditious & prudent
" measures, to Secure our selves & ships; upon whose safety
" so much Depends; by any threads or intimidations,
" whatsoever, as that we must Risk the Effects of your threats,
" as we can not possable secure our ships where you appoint nor
" will the Season or our prest. circumstances admitt of going
" to Sea, in a Search of a Better, thus Gentlemen you have
" our Sentiments & final Resolution, wch. we can't possable
" recede from or make more satisfactory, & heartily wish your
" true Interest, may influence you, to use us as you ought & are,
Gentlemen Yr. most Obedient Humble Servts.

Callifornia 4 Sepr. 1746

Wm. Moor
Francis Smith
James Holding
Jerimiah Westall
James Guyne
Henry Elliss
Wm. Johnson
John Meatclf
Edw. Thompson

I made no answer to this more than that I Requir'd a true performance of wt. concern'd them, and that itt was not in my power to give Copy's of the Company's Instructions, therefore wou'd not do any such thing. I was Dubious how to act in this case, I have before fir'd 2 Guns to bring them too, But now they have produc'd his Majesty's Commission & our orders being missing, I find by the orders sent this Year,¹ we can not hinder them from wintering here; as they have in a manner prov'd they are in a Necessity for so Doing, at 8 Evening fir'd. a gun for our boate wch. is Sounding the River. at the Same time the Capts. went up the River a Sounding: their ships both aground below the Cross barr.

SATURDAY a fresh gale at Et.b.So. & cloudy with Raine, the Capts. went up to ten shilling creek; which is 4 mile above the fort on the South side of the River. the *Dobbs Galley* aground near the Cross bar, the *Callifornia* a Little higher up & aground.

SUNDAY Wind Et.S.Et. blow'd fresh & cloudy with Raine; Both ships this morning aground, at tide time fleted, at 11 the *Dobs Galley*'s boate came up to the factory, & Return'd their message wch. was that the capt. wou'd pay me a Vissit, in the afternoon if I Likd. of itt, at the Same time the boate went up to ten shilling creek, at 5 Evening both capt. Walkd. up to the factory; at 8 being Very heavy Raine & Wind, Cou'd not gett on board Stayd. all Night.

MONDAY Wind S.Et.b.S. Very hard Raine but part of the Day, at 7 morning the Capts. Return'd on board; at 6 in the Evening the boate Return'd, that went up to ten shilling creek, 11 forenoon Yesterdy. mr. Elliss, who found their to be no more than $10\frac{1}{2}$ foot Water of ten shilling creek, Notwithstanding these Raging tides; therefore am Doubtfull how these ships can be secur'd their so as to be got of in the Spring, they being Sensible the tides are not so high in the spring as in the fall. he Likewise found a Strong currant in the said creek, & is of an opinion the ships can not winter wth.

¹ No written instructions regarding the discovery ships have been traced. See p. 214, n.1.

1746
Sepr.

the 9th

the 10th

the 11th

the 12th

safety, their wch. is wt. I informd them at first of. the Said Mr. Elliss went for the Ships at 7. Who Designs to try the french creek tomorrow.

TUESDAY blowd. a fresh gale at SbEt. & Very fine weather, the ships Still Laying below the factory; abt. $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, at 4 afternoon 12 men came up from the ships, to Dig a pitt to Burry their beer in; to preserve itt from the frost; Show'd them a Spott before the factory when they went to work upon itt.

WEDNESDY. blowd. fresh at SEt. & fine weather at 12 forenoon the *Dobbs Galley* weighd. anchor and at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 12 was fast aground. the *Calliferna* came to anchor just below the factory; she fir'd 7 guns wth. Coulers flying & penant flying at main top mast head, their men has Dug Down abt. $4\frac{1}{2}$ foot in the aforesaid pitt.

THURSDAY a Very hard gale at Et.NEt. & cloudy Hazy weather, the *Dobbs Galley* aground till flood, then woor, they weigh'd & came up to the factory where both Ships moor'd.

FRIDAY Wind & Weather as Yesterdy. 12 of the ships men a Digging in the aforesaid pitt. at 10 mr. Elliss came on shore with the following Letter.

Sir

" In order to prepair our ships for Lying up, we are oblige
 " to Discharge our stores, provisions, &c. and as we have not a
 " convenient place to Secure those that are perishable nor time
 " to make one, we must intreat the favour of you to furnish
 " us, with such where they may be preserv'd in Safety, tell our
 " ships are again fitt to Receive them this Sir Will oblige

Your Very Humble Servt.

Calliferna Sepr. 12th 1746

Wm. Moor
Francis Smith
Henry Elliss

To this I sent by word of mouth that I had no Room to Stow any thing but their powder & a Little of their Beire wch. I wou'd do tomorrow morning & at times they sent their Long

boats Shore with Beer for to go into the aforesaid pitt & Some 1746
Carriagges, Swivill guns, Junk, &c., for to Lye tell they gott Sept.
their ships Lay'd up then to take them on board.¹

SATURDAY Little wind & Variable wth. fine weather; the 13th
the 12 men at Diging in the pitt, Early this morning they
sent their powder on shore, wn. I stow'd itt in our powdr.
Roome; as Likewise their Brandy I stow'd in the Lower part
of our warehouse.

SUNDAY a fine brease at SWt. & Very warme, Close the 14th
Gates to Day, the Capts. & ships Company a walking abt. the
works, at the Same time an English woman² by apperance
came on shore walkd. abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour upon the bank, & went
on board again.

MONDAY blowd. hard at N.b.Et. & cloudy cold weather, the 15th
the *Calliferna* grounds Every tide since she Lay of the fort.
their boats are getting Beef, pork &c. on shore, op'd all their
Cheese stowd. itt in our warehouse, for the prest. Last night
the *Dobbs* pinnace went to ten shilling Creek return'd in the
Night. 12 of their men Digging in the pit. at Noon Capt.
Smith Struck their main topmast & main Yard & Brought
them on shore, Lay'd them upon the bank for the winter.

TUESDY. blow'd fresh at N.Wt. & squawls of snow & the 16th
Sleet; untill noon then fine weather with the wind at Wt. the
ships boats putting flower &c. Let them have the Coopers
shed to reserve them in. Captn. Moor struck his fore top
mast & Brought. itt on shore. 13 men a Diging, one of their
boats went up the River, Both Capts. up the River a Laying
Buoys, for a Guide for the ships, at the Same time the *Dobs*
struck their fore top mast & main top mast.

WEDNESDY. hard Squawls at N.Wt.bN. & NWt. all Day the 17th
with Sleed & snow & cold weather; 13 of the ships men a

¹ The ordinary York Factory journal for September 12, 1746 (B. 239/a/28) provides the following additional information: "...at noon Sent an Indn. to Churchill with a Letter, for to Desire them to Send a coppie of the printed act of parl'm't & the Company's order the Last Year, being Neither Left in the factory." See p. 247 and p. 258, n. 2.

² Kitty, wife of Captain Smith. See pp. 254, 279, 280, 281.

1746
Sepr.

the 18

the 19

the 20th

21t

the 22d

23d

Diging in the pitt one a cutting brush for to Lay under the Cask's, Capt. moor on shore a stowing Cask's of Beef & pork on the inside of the Stockadoes; Capt. Smith up at ten shilling creek where their carpenters, & Some men are making Log tents for to Live in the Winter being the first Day of their proceeding in the Same Notwithstanding have been here 23 Days.
THURSDY. Wind Variable & Cloudy moderate weather, 12 men a Diging in the pitt. the Carpenters of the *Dobbs* a making Log tents at 10 shilling creek, & the carpenters of the *Calliferna* a making a tent at the french creek.

FRIDAY blows a fresh gale at N. & NbEt. & foggy untill Noon then moderate; abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 forenoon the *Dobbs Galley* unmoor'd with the assistance of most of the *Calliferna*'s men, & Saild for ten shilling Creek;¹ at one the *Dobbs* Ground'd at the mouth of the Said creek the *Calliferna* still Lying opposite the fort, Capt. smith & his Lady was on shore at Dinner, at 6 Evening went on board, no working in the pitt to Day, 2 men a Looking after their provisions below Robisons Cully, till Such times their ships is Layd. up, they then Designing to take them on board again.

SATURDAY a Very hard gale of wind at SWt. & fine weather, the *Calliferna* unmoor'd & Saild for ten shilling Creek; but was obligd. to turn & bring too, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above the fort, itt blowing hard where she is at anchor.

SUNDAY Little wind at SWt. & a thick fog untill noon then a fresh gale at Et.b.N. & foggy, the *Calliferna* weighd, & Saild at tide time, & came to an anchor well over upon the South shore.

MONDAY Little wind & Variable from Et. to S.Et. & foggy weather, at tide time the *Calliferna* weigh'd & Saild for the Creek, the fog so thick Cou'd see them no further than the mile bluff.

TUESDAY Calm weather & cloudy, Capt. Moor's boate came to the fort with 9 men, who went to work in the pitt, Captn. Moor, Desir'd I wou'd Let their men tent upon the

¹ For an illustration showing the *Dobbs* and *California* in Ten Shilling or Wintering Creek see Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay . . .*, p. 152.

plantation for two Nights that itt wou'd take to finish the pitt,
wch. I Refus'd to do but Let them Ly within the fort. I
understand the *Dobs* is gott abt. 4 ships Length up ten shilling
Creek; & the *Calliforna* is Just within the mouth of the Said
Creek.

1746
Sepr.

WEDNESDAY Very squawly at N. & N.Wt. at times,
Raine, the *Calliforna*'s men came Down wth. ten Cask's of
Beer; wch. the men put in the pitt, with the Rest; & the Said
boate went Down with a Load of provisions Left below, in
order to gett them on board; went to ten shilling creek a
fishing Veiwd. the ships when they Layd. aground & in a
Sad Situation of a place, as to the consequence of floods of
water in the Spring they Lying in the Channel of the Creek.

24th

THURSDAY Little wind & fine weather at Wt.b SWt.
the 9 men belonging to the ships Stow'd the Cask's of Beer in
the pitt, & fill'd itt up being ten foot Deep; one foot Bru[s]h
then Cask's & over brush then Dirt, by which I beleive the
Beer will be preserv'd from the frost. at Noon one Long
boate went Down below for goods.

25

FRIDAY a fine gale at S.S.Wt. & Very fine warm weather, the 26th
Capt. Moor, & Capt. smith came Down here Desir'd the
favour of me to Let them have a few Bricks to build them a
fire place in their square house they are a Building at ten
shilling Creek, granted them some, their boats fetching goods
from below & carrying them to the Ships.

SATURDAY blow'd fresh at So. & cloudy; the ship's the 27th
Long boats made one trip with goods from below, Mr. Elliss
came Downe here Brought. 4 men who I Desir'd might assist
in Diving a Cellor in my house as part of their Beer, will be
stowd. in itt, at the Same time spard. them 400 whole Bricks &
600 Batts or $\frac{1}{2}$ bricks. I spoke to the capt. yesterdy. for to
Deleiver up all their trading goods, into my Custidy which
they promis'd to Do, as also to produce their ships Books that
I might be Satisfied they Deleiverd all.

SUNDAY Calm weather & Very warm, at Noon a fine the 28th
brease at Et.b N. the ships Long boats made one trip below
for goods.

1746
Sept.
the 29th

Octr.
the 1st

MONDAY blow'd fresh at N.Et. & cloudy Hazy weather;
4 of the ships men a Diging a cellar in the South Bastion.
Sent up by their boats 300 more Bricks, & the Bricklayer¹ to
assist in Building a Stove for them at Montagu house² so
called.

WEDNESDAY Squaly weather with Snow at times, Mr.
Elliss came here with the following Letter.

Sir

" Yours by the Bricklayer I Rec'd & Return you thanks
" for the favour; whereas the many that I have had formerly
" from you imboldens me now, to crave another which
" if you can Spare Mr. Ford for a small time to assist us,
" itt will be gratefully acknowledg'd by all the Consul as
" well as by Sr.

Your most Humble Servt.

on board the *Dobbs*
octr. the 1t 1746

William Moor

When I sent the following answer,
Sr.

I Rec'd your's by mr. Elliss & hope you will Disire the
Bricklayer to make as Quick Dispatch as possable, as I shall
want him to go to Neishcook River. & as to Mr. Ford I can
not possable spare him, we having Several jobs to Do, & no

¹ According to A. 11/114, fo. 122d., Richard Myncin was the bricklayer at York Fort during season 1746-47.

² Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay . . .*, pp. 157-8, November 6, 1746, ". . . the Cold became insupportable aboard, so that the Sailors were distributed among the several Tents, which were assigned for their Conveniency, and Preservation in the Woods, and the Captains, Officers, &c. went to live in their new House, which by this Time was finished: It was christened (in the Sea-way) MONTAGUE-HOUSE, in Honour of that worthy Nobleman, and generous Patron of all useful Undertakings, his Grace the DUKE of MONTAGUE; who, from his considering this Expedition in that Light, was one of our Subscribers." For "A View of Montagu House from Beaver Creek" and a description of it, see ibid., pp. 152, 155-6, and Clerk of the California, *Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage . . .*, I, 133-9.

other Carpter. at home; being all gone abroad to procure timber &c. & Remain Sr. 1746 Octr.

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York fort octr. the 1t 1746

James Isham

FRIDAY Little wind at N.Wt. & cold sharpe weather, a pretty Deal of Ice upon the Shores, the ships Long boats went Down below for some boards &c. the ships men a Diving the Cellor; our Bricklayr. at work in building a Stove at ten shilling creek for the ships company. 3d

SATURDAY blow'd fresh at S.Et. & cloudy cold weather, the 4th in the forenoon Mr. Holding Chief mate of the *Callifonna* came here with the following

Sr.

" I Not having an opportunity of comming Down my Self
 " send you these by the Barrer, my first mate, first to Enquire
 " after your health, & then to beg the favour, of you to Let
 " me have, by the Barrer one piece flannel for Lining 40
 " Jackets, for my Self & men, with $\frac{1}{2}$ a Gross of waistcoate
 " Buttons, three Dozn. coate Do. & Six scains of yr. fine
 " twine, the which I will be accountable for & Very Readily
 " Sign yr. books for the Same.

" Sir if you can spare me the above mention'd, & place
 " them to my acct. I shall be Very much obligd. to you &
 " Remain Yr. most Humble Servt. to command,
 from on board the *Callifonna* Francis Smith
 ten shilling creek Saturdy. noon

When I sent the following answer.

S'r.

I Rec'd your's by mr. Holding & have Examin'd my Stock of goods, & fin'd I can not Spare the Quantity you mention But have sent the following for which I shall Expect Security from you for the Same, flannel 29 yds. Buttons coate three dozn. Do. Waistcoate Six dozn. twine fine 6 Scains &

1746
Oct.

Remain with my Service to Capt. Moor & all friends, hoping
you'l Excep't the Same from Sr.

Your Very Humble Servt.

York fort

James Isham

octr. the 4th 1746

the 5th

SUNDAY a fresh gale at N.N.Wt. & cloudy cold weather,
the 4 men that was a Diging the cellar went to the ships to
shift them Selves & Returnd.

the 6th

MONDAY Wind Wt.SWt. clear & moderate weather untill
Noon then Little wind at Wt.N.Wt. & Snow, the Sailors
assisting in finishing the Cellor.

the 19th¹

FRIDAY Wind at SWt. clear & moderate weather this
forenoon heard 2 great guns at ten shilling Creek; but cou'd
not Send to Enquire the Reason being so much Ice in the
River, cou'd not put a Boate in; Nothing of consequence more
since the 6th Instt. Winds & Variable.

the 19th

SUNDY. Little wind & Variable with fine weathr. being
Little Ice in the Channell of the River Sent a boate to ten
shilling Creek to Deleiver some Letters Rec'd from Churchill²
fort for the Capts.³ & to Desire them to Send our Bricklayer
home if he has finish'd, the tennour of my Letter was

¹ This should be Friday, October 17. The remarks on the weather agree with those in the ordinary York Factory journal, B. 239/a/28.

² See p. 253, n. 1. B. 239/a/28, York Factory journal, October 19, 1746,
“...at noon the Inds. that went for Churchill on the 12 Last month Returnd.
wth. a packet from Mr. pilgrim master wherein was inclosd. the Copies I sent
for.”

³ A. 6/7, fo. 142, Governor and Committee to Joseph Isbister and Council at
Prince of Wales's Fort [May 5, 1748], “26. By the Journal of the Factory
from York Fort there is mention made of Letters recd. from Churchill directed
to the Discoverers which Mr. Isham sent to Capt. Moor. We desire to know
from whom they came what were the Contents of those Letters and who sent
them and who it was that carried them, and who they were directed to or how
you came by them.” A. 11/13, fo. 26, Isbister and Council to Governor and
Committee, September 5, 1748, “As to the Letters that Past between the
Discoverers at York Fort & Your Servants at this Place we have Sent You all
that we Know off wch. we hope will Give Satissfaction, being Letters of no
Consequence, & were Carried by the York Fort & Churchill pacquet.”

Sir

I have Sent the Boate to Know if the Bricklayer has finishd, if so please to Send him by the Barrer, if not please to Send him over as Soon as he has finishd, & you will highly oblige

1746
Octr.

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

octr. the 6th 1746

James Isham

this Letter I sent on the 6th but cou'd not gett Nigh the ships for Ice, therefore took this opportunity, at 7 the boate Return'd with the Bricklayer & one of Capt. Moors boats, who came for a cask of their pork, & Brought the following Letter:

Sr.

" By the Bricklayer I must inform you that he has got us a " Stove up, but how Long itt will stand I won't Say being " oblig'd to Build all the chimny with Nothing but Batts; as " for Lime, he had not $\frac{1}{2}$ anough by his own acc't. Never the " Less I Return you thanks for Both as well as for him, and " shall only add that our men begins to think itt cold, & that " they can't Sustain the winter unless you furnish them with " Snow shoes, Indn. shoes, &c. which I hope you will Consider, " I am

Sir Your Very Humble Servt.

on board the *Dobbs*

octr. the 19th 1746

William Moor

MONDAY blow'd fresh at SSEt. & snow but part of the the 20th Day, this morning the boats went back to the ships when I sent the following answer.

Sr.

I Rec'd Yours of the Bricklayer & hope the Stove will Stand, as to Bricks & Lime we Cou'd not tell you wanted by not Sending, Your men has Done the Cellor & have Stow'd all the Cheese, Capt. Smiths Beer &c. in itt where itt will be

1746
Oct.

Reserv'd from the weather, & Roome for more if you have any thing that will Damage, I have Sent by the Barrer 2 tents of moose skining 8 Skin's Each one for Each Ship, which is all I can Suply you with, tell Next I hear from you & conclude

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York fort

James Isham

Octr. 20: 1746

P.S. As you may not be in want pray do not forget to Let your men make great Sleds, as we have none to Spare.

the 22d

WEDNESDAY blow'd fresh at N.Et. & cloudy Raw cold weather, the 4 men that is here belonging to the ships I sent Down to See if the Ice & water Did not come a Near their Ropes &c. & to Secure them in Safety at Noon Returnd.

Novr.
the 5th

WEDNESDAY Very fine weather wind at Wt. this forenoon 2 men came from the ship, to Enquire after our health, &c. and at 2 went back with my service to all on board, Sent Each of the Capt's. a pr. of snow shoes & the following Letter.

Gentlemen,

You promisd. to Send all trading goods Belonging to both ships on shore, to be in my Custidy tell your Departure from this place; as also the ships Books that I might be satisfied I had all undr. my care, You also promisd. that no Indn. or Inds. shou'd come on board the ship or ships, which promises I see is on'y to Deceive me, you acting contrary to all Such promises, Never taking any more notice of the goods above mentiond. Notwithstanding I have mention'd the Same before; and as to Inds. I am truly inform'd you have one we call Johny Gaunt & his wife on board, one of the ships, wch. is contrary to your Instructions & a Determt. to the Companies Rights &c. this Indian Gentlemen is 30 beaver of goods in the Company's Debt, Now I Disire to Know who I am to be Rited for these goods, if you Detain them on board your ships, I Disire you wou'd consider the consequence of these

proceedings & Disire you wou'd Dispatch the Said Indn. or
 Inds. away; I have spar'd some shoe Leather & other goods
 & Do propose to Spare wt. Beaver tockey's possable I can, &
 other snow shoes &c. But as I can not by the above
 proceedings Depend on your word for the Security &
 Deleiverance of the same, I must therefore Desire security for
 such goods stores &c. that I Lend or Spare before I Deleiver
 them for the future; these with your true & Honorable
 proceedings, I conclude.

Sr. Your Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

York fort

Novr. the 11 1746

TUESDAY Wind N.Wt. & moderate weather, with small the 11th
 snow; at Noon the Capts. came here with Several men, for
 some of their provisions & Returnd to their tent.

WEDNESDAY Wind & weather as Yesterday Several the 12th
 men came for provisions & Return'd to the tents.

THURSDAY Little wind at S.Wt. & clear moderate the 13th
 weather; severall men came for provisions & Returnd. to
 their ships; & yesterday 2 taylors belonging to the ships came
 to Lend a hand in making tockey's for the use of the ships men.

SATURDAY Wind at Et. & fine moderate weather the 15th
 Capt. came here to Desire the favour of more Bricks & Lime,
 Lent them 100 Bricks & some Lime their taylor's a helping
 our taylors in making Beaver tockeys for their mens use.

THURSDAY Very fine weather & moderate wind S.Wt. the 20th
 this morning sent my Chief officer to the ship with some
 Beaver tockeys, for the use of part of the ships Company &
 the following Letter's,

To Capt. Moor,

Sr. We have at Last finishd. all the tockey's I am able to
 procure, & as you was mentioning you wou'd be Desirous of
 the use of such for your men I have sent 18 tockey's wch. with
 your 5 men here makes 23; Which tockey's mr. skrimshire
 Deleivers into your care, for the use of your men tell the first

1746
Novr.

of May Nex't then they are Recall'd & Desire you wou'd see
they do not Damage them & Remain

Yr. freind & Servt.

York fort hays's Rivr.

James Isham

Novr. 20: 1746

P.S. please to give mr. skrimshire a Receip't for the above
tockey's with a promise of seeing them forth comming at the
above appointed time.

To Capt. Smith

Sr. We have at Last finishd. all the tockey's I am able to
procure, & as you was mentioning you wou'd be Desirious of
the use of such for your men I have sent 19 tockey's wch. with
the one yr. taylor has makes 20: Wch. tockey's mr. skrimshire
Deleivers into yr. care for the use of your men tell the first of
May Next that they are Recall'd & Desire you wou'd order
them not to Damage & Remain

Yr. freind & Servt.

York fort hays's Rivr.

James Isham

Novr. 20: 1746

P.S. please to Give mr. skrimshire a Recip't for the above
coats, with a promise of seeing them forth with comming at
the above appointed time.

At Noon Mr. Skrimshire return'd, with the following Letters,

Sir,

Montagu House Nvr. 20th: 1746

" I here acknowledge the Rec't of 18 tockey's by mr.
" Skrimshire, at the same time I promise to see the other five as
" well as those forth comming when Eve'r you shall think
" fitt to Recall them. I am with truth, Sir

Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

William Moor,

" P.S. What our men must Do for snow shoes I can not tell.

Montagu House Novr. the 20th: 1746

" Receiv'd of Mr. James Isham factor at York fort, twenty
" three tockey's for the officers & seamen belonging to the

" Dobbs Galley, which tockey's I promise to Deleiver on the 1745
 " first Day of May Next. or sooner if Demanded, Novr.
 William Moor

Sir,

" I am obligd. to you for the Expedition use'd in finishing
 " the tockey's Nineteen of which came here, & that of the
 " taylors makes the twentieth for all which you have my
 " Receipt & promise as Desir'd of Restitution & the uttermost
 " care shall be had that they Receive no Damage; in the wear,
 " but if that shou'd happe'n I will be accountable.

" I must own my self infinitely oblig'd to you for this
 " assistance towards my men, passing the winter comfortable,
 " and shall Express itt on my Return to England to my
 " Employers, in Such term's of Gratitude as such a favour
 " Justly Deserves & am Sr.

Yr. freind & Servt.

Winter house

Novr. the 20th: 1746

francis Smith.

" Rec'd Novr. 20. 1746 of James Isham factor of York fort
 " twenty tockey's which I promise to Restore on the first
 " of May. francis Smith

THURSDAY a fine brease at N.N.Wt. & cold sharpe the 27th
 weather; With a thick Ryme at Noon Rec'd the following
 Letter¹ from Capt. Moor.

Sir

" I Need not tell you now how acceptable a Little fresh
 " provisions wou'd be to us all, therefore beg the favour you
 " wou'd Entertain an Indian or two to Kill us a few partridges,
 " & I shall take care to make them what Satisfaction you shall
 " think fitt in Retur'n, I am Sir.

Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

Montagu House

Novr. 27th: 1746

William Moor.

¹ See p. 212 et seq.

1746
Novr.

When I sent the following Answer,

Sir

I do assure you provisions is so scarce with me that I can not Readily Comply for to find Inds. with proviss. to hunt for you; for now wt. they Kill is in Return for wt. I give them besides here is no partridges to be had tell we cross port Nelson River, for wt. we can gett Nigher is not Suffitient to Suply the factory & our men that Lyes out, Neither have I a pound of shott to Spare,

Whosomever if you will send shott & make a Return of provisions in Exchange for wt. I give the Inds. I will send 2 Inds. a hunting & Every Saturday Return you what they Kill; as for satisfying them otherwise a Little brandy, once a week is Suffitient & please to Let me Know, how much & how ofte'n you will allow them some, & I will give itt them which can be Returnd hereafter, & Remain

Sr. Yr. Very Humble Servt.

Novr. the 27th: 1746

James Isham

the 29th

SATURDAY Cold sharpe weather with a thick Ryme, wind N Wt.b.N. Rec'd the following Letters of the Capts:

Sir,

" I beg the favour that you will spare us a Little Lime to " finish our stove and I hope itt will be the Last time we shall " trouble you abt. itt

" I am Sir Yr. most obedient & Humble Servt.

Montagu house Novr.

William Moor

28th 1746

The other was

Sir

" I have sent Downe by mr. Johnson 113 lb. of shott, and " shall be Ready to make a Return or full satisfaction for what " provisions you find the Indians with while they are hunting

" for us, Likewise I desire the favour that you will be so good 1746
 " as to ordr. them brandy, at such times you think proper, and Novr.
 " the same shall be gratefully acknowledged by Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

Flower, pease, oatmeal & Grot,¹
 I can Exchange

William Moor

When I sent the following answer

Sir,

I Rec'd your's & 3 bags of shott 113 lb. & have sent some Lime; I shall send them a hunting as purpos'd tomorrow— as to Brandy I had rather you had mentiond. the Quantity, pray my service to all with you & Remain,

Sir, Your Very Humble Servt.

York fort

Novr. 29th 1746

P.S. we can not spare any more Lime hereafter.

James Isham

SUNDY. blowd. a fresh gale at N.N.Wt. & N.Wt. with Drift & snow & sharpe weather, sent 105 partridges to the Capts. wch. is what the two Indians has Killd this week.

MONDAY Wind N.Wt. & cloudy cold weather wth. Drift, Captn. Moor's men came here for brandy & Return'd, Sent 30 partridges by them, itt's to be observ'd I have had 5 of Captn. Moor's men & one of Captn. Smith's at times Ever Since the fall.²

WEDNESDAY Little wind at Wt.N.Wt. & clear sharpe weather, in the forenoon Rec'd the following Letter by Capt. Smith's Clark;

¹ Groats. Hulled, or hulled and crushed grain of various kinds, chiefly oats, but also wheat, barley, and maize. (O.E.D.)

² Captain Smith's log does not mention his Clerk by name, but his letter on p. 277 shows that "Mr. Dragg" was Clerk of the *California*. Presumably, therefore, "Mr. Dragg" was the author of *Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage...* This was undoubtedly the book referred to by

1746
Decr.

Sr.

" I must make apology for troubling you with this, on
 " account of a misunderstanding between me & Capt. Moor,
 " in Respect to the 105 partridges, Brought heither by our
 " people, Capt. Moor says they was Kill'd by the Inds.
 " Employd. for his ship only, so I have no share in them, if
 " this be so & not a misapprehension of Captn. Moor's, I
 " must beg Leave to observe as my people are Equally in
 " wan't of a Suply of this Kind, as Capt. moor's, and as the
 " Satisfaction to the hudsons Bay Company to whom thro your
 " goodness, we are indebted for these favour's, must be made
 " by our Employers, who are Equally intereted in the Health
 " of both ships, itt wou'd therefore Certainly be most agreeable
 " to them and more answerable to your intentions, that these
 " suply's shou'd not be Engrosd. by one but Shar'd between
 " us, and must beg you will be so obliging for the future; to
 " give not only, to one but both the assistance of your Indians;
 " and Let us share in common what they produce, Considering
 " that Capt moor has 42 in his ships Company, and in mine
 " but 32: and that on their being fetch't, you will be so Kind

Isham on p. 238. Most library catalogues question the identity of the Clerk of the *California* and Howard N. Eavenson of Pittsburgh, Pa., in a privately printed pamphlet entitled *Two Early Works on Arctic Exploration by an Anonymous Author* (1946) attributes the authorship of the *Account of a Voyage...* and that of *The Great Probability of a North West Passage...* (London, 1768) to Captain Charles Swaine and says he was probably a kinsman of Theodorus Swaine Drage. There is no one named Swaine referred to in Isham's journal. The strongest evidence put forward by Mr. Eavenson is the statement made on November 3, 1750, by Charles Swaine to Governor Ogle of Maryland, when he applied for and obtained a licence to undertake a voyage in search of a North West Passage. In that statement he said he had been Clerk of the *California* on the voyage of 1746-47. Benjamin Franklin writing to Cadwallader Colden on February 28, 1753, said: "I believe I have not before told you that I have produced a subscription here of £1300 to fit out a vessel in search of a North-West Passage; she sails in a few days, and is called the Argo, commanded by Mr. Swaine, who was in the last Expedition in the California, Author of a Journal of that Voyage in two Volumes". See also *The Beaver*, September, 1943, B. Solis-Cohen, "An American Search for the Northwest Passage. An account of the little known expeditions which set sail from Philadelphia in 1753 and 1754", pp. 24-7.

" as to order your people to Distinguish which belongs to 1746
 " Each of us respectively, to prevent any further mistakes Decr.
 " between me & Capt. moor.

" As I am sensible how much your inclinations is to assist
 " me, and at the same time to do itt in the most Effectual, &
 " satisfactory manner, therefore take the Liberty of Explaining
 " my self thus perticular, & hoping you will Except my
 " thanks & acknowledg'mt. for past favours, & be assur'd
 " Sir I am

Your obligd. friend & Servt.

Winter Hall

10th Decr. 1746

francis Smith

Having considered of this Letter I sent the following Deticated
 to both Capts.

Gentlemen

I am sorry to hear any Disputes shou'd arise between you
 on my acct. concerning the partridges Kill'd by the Indians,
 which if not happen'd to have been sent by Capt smith's men,
 the misunderstanding wou'd have been the Same, I am greatly
 misinformd. in the whole, hearing one acc't from one party &
 another from the other party, (which I imagingd. to be one
 family,) Now to hinder any misunderstandings for the future
 I have Dictated this to you both.

As I am consern'd in this affair I can but observe to you I
 think itt Very unreasonable, that one shou'd Desire the whole
 more than the other; but that they ought to be Divided in
 proportion to Each ships company, for altho Capt moor, wrote
 to me to find two Indians to hunt, yet we never mistrusted but
 Capt smith was to share in them as I persume you are both
 Employd. by one company and upon one & the same acc't
 therefore in my opinion ought to be as one mother's children,

Now I shall Employ three Inds. to hunt for you both for
 the future, and shall send the partridges to Each of you in
 propotion to Each ships Comp'y at the Same time shall
 continue as propos'd as to provisions & Brandy; & I think

1746
Decr.

this is the only method to Lay aside all Disputes that may arise
& Desire an answer from you both & Remain
Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York Fort,
Decr. 10th 1746

James Isham

at Noon Capt. moor's men came with a great Sled for some
brandy, & Cheese I have in Keeping & Return'd.

the 12th

THURSDY. Little wind & Variable the following I Rec'd
in answer to the above Vext.,

Mr. Isham
Sir.

Montagu House
Decembr. 11th 1746

" Your's yesterdy. Surprizd. me much I Know no Dispute
" that has happen'd worth mentioning nevertheless I think my
" self Very much oblig'd. to you for the great pains you've
" taken to adjust the Numbr. of partridges between us,
" moreover you Declare the great Concer'n that you are under,
" that any Disputes shou'd arise between us on your acct.
" concerning the partridges Kill'd by the Inds. wch. if not
" happen'd to have been sent by Capt Smith's men the
" misunderstanding wou'd have been the Same. That you
" are greatly misinform'd in the whole hearing one act. from
" one party & another from the othr. &c.

" Sir Now in answer to this I shall only beg Leave to Quote
" your Last favour to me, the 8th of this instt. which I shall
" repeat in your own words: and for the future since I
" understand they are for you only; shall send none but when
" I Receive a note from you by one of your men for Really I
" do not Know who the men belongs to that comes sometimes.¹

" But I imagin'd that you had understood Either me or
" those I had so ofte'n send on this affair if I Can not

¹ There is no letter written by Isham included in the entry for December 8.
See p. 265.

" have the two Inds. to hunt according to agreemt. I must 1746
 " do the best I can, Decr.

& Remain Sir

Yr. most obedient
 most Humble Servt.

Wm. Moor

FRIDAY Little wind at Et. & cloudy moderate weather the 13th
 this forenoon sent the following Letter to Both Capts.

York fort Decr. 12: 1746

Gentlemen

I Rec'd a Letter the Last Night wch. is partly the answer to mine, on the 10th wherein you say, you are greatly Surpriz'd & that you are Very much oblig'd to me, for the great paintake'n to adjust the partridges between you, which is Nothing but wt. was just & Reasonable, in answer to the Remainder of my Letter, you Say you repeat my own words on the 8th Instant, I assure you Gentlemen I am not ashame'd to Deny my words or actions, as its my intentions to act in fair & honourable proceedings, all wch. I not only Justifie to my compy. but to your Employer's &c.

Further as to your Quotations, please to observe, yr. Letter to me the 27th Last month, I need not tell you now how a Little fresh provisions wou'd be to us all! therefore beg the favour you will Entertain an Indn. or two to Kill us, a few partridges, & shall take care to make you wt. Satisfaction you shall think fitt in Return.

pray what can be plainer than this, then wt. the produc't of wt. the Inds. Kill'd. was to be amongst the two ships Companys.

Howsomever you see'm to intimate at the Bottom of yr. Letter, if you can not have the 2 Inds. you must Do the best you can; Your menaces, I do not Regard, in answer to which I have nothing further to Say; but if you Like of wt. I mention'd in mine on the 10th Instt. for three Indians to hunt for both ships company's, &c. I will continue them, if not

APPENDIX A

1746
Decr.

shall Return them upon the Companies affairs again &
Remain

Your Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

Captain Smith

I Rec'd a Letter Last Night, wch. I have sent to you to peruse, that you may Know the tennour of mine now to you both by mr. skrimshire & as you are a gentleman trust to yr. honors in Returng. the Enclosd. after you have perus'd itt. & Remain

Yr. friend & Servt.

Decr. the 13th 1746

James Isham

At noon mr. skrimshire Returnd. with the following answer from capt. Moor capt. smith not being at Home

Sir,

" Your's in answer to mine is just come to hand, I assure
" you that I have all along Look'd upon itt, as a favour that
" you procurd. 2 Inds. to Kill partridges for me, I own when
" I wrote I only ask'd for one or two, and you granted my
" Request, But for w't Reason you want to reduce itt to Less
" I can [not] divine, unless itt is as you observe that you are
" greatly misinformd in the whole, therefore if i can not have
" the Explination of your's of the 6[8]th Instt. I shall still
" Repeat my former words Vizt. if I can not have the two
" Inds. according to agreem't I must do the best I can, Nor
" for my part shall I be ashame'd to Deny Either my words or
" actions & hope to Justifie not only the part but all my future
" conduc't to the Satisfaction of my masters at my Retur'n to
" England,

I am

Yr. most obedient Humble Servt.

P.S. these menaces

you say you do not regard, as the
shoe does not fitt me I have no ocation
to wear itt

James Isham [sic]

Sr.

I did not come home Last night tell Six otherwise you had
 Rec'd my answer to your's Directed to me & Capt. moor,
 Brought my mr. skrimshire & the other Gentleman, whom I
 am Sorry I had not the opportunity to See. I Very much
 approve of the three Inds. hunting for us both, & beg itt may
 be continue'd, & if Cap't. Moor shou'd Decline itt, then
 Desire that they may be continued on my acc't solely, & if
 Capt. Moor, shall at any time alter his opinion, & be Desirious
 of making use of them, I shall readily Consen't that may hunt
 for both again. I am

1746
Decr.

Yr. Obligd. friend & Servt.

Winter Hall

francis Smith

at the Same time I Rec'd from Cap't smith 108 lbs. shott
 towards Killing partridges, & sent his Divident Vizt.

Sr.

I have sent by the Barrer thirty three partridges, they Killing
 but 77 this week, being 44 for Capt. Moor, when he will send
 for them, & Remain

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

MONDAY a fresh at NWt. & cold sharpe weather with the 15th
 Drift & a thick Ryme, Cap't moor's men Came here with the
 great Sled, went Down below for some plank, he sent for
 partridges, Sent him the 44 Due Last Week;

THURSDAY a hard gale at NWt. with Snow, & Drift, the 18th
 & cold sharpe weather, sent the following Letter to Capt.
 Moor,

Dec'r. the 18th: 1746

Sr.

This comes first to Enquire after yr. Health hoping you are
 well, Next to Desire you woud Let me Know when you
 Design to Send for your men, that is here as all our men will be

APPENDIX A

1746
Decr.

at home on tuesday. Next that they may have time to pack their things up, as we shall not have Roome for them in the house to Lye, & Remain

Sr. Yr. Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

the 19th

FRIDAY blow'd fresh at NWt. & clear sharpe weathr. at Noon Rec'd the following Letter from capt. Moor.

Montagu House Decembr. 19th 1746

Sr.

" Tomorrow I shall send the great Sled Downe, so our men " may help up with itt. the other Day here was a Little Indn. " fellow, his wife & a young child with 'em, they Broug't " 3 pr. shoes Indn. which I take to be made of some of the " Seal skins, I sent to you, which they wou'd Leave after " staying ab't $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, if our men can be of any service to " you after the Holliday's is over, they shall come whenever " you think proper, I must own that itt will be doing me a " favour; we are all Very well in health thank god, & conclude " wishing you a merry Christmass, & a happy new Year; is " the Sincere wishes of,

Sir Yr. most obedient Humble Servt.

William Moor

the 20th

SATURDY. a fresh gale at N.Wt. with Drift and snow, & cold sharpe weather, sent 45 partridges to Capt. Moor, & 35 to Capt. Smith, wch. is the product of the 3 Inds. Killing this week.

the 23d

TUESDAY Little wind & Variable from wt. to N. and snow, the capt. men came yesterdy. & to Day wth. plank, carry'd Brandy up, sent the following Letter to Capt. smith, I also understood Capt. moor Lost one of his men who Departed this Life on saturday. Last.

Sir,

In conserning of wt. you was mentioning yesterdy. I have been considering upon, wch. if you please rightly to consider,

if I was to find room for you here & not Capt. Moor, I persume
 wou'd be a mean's to breed further Disturbances & occation 1746
 a fair greater misunderstanding between you both than wt. is
 at prest. which I shou'd be Sorry for, But provisor you was
 actually turn'd out, as you mention, I say then I cou'd do no
 Less, then to assist a person in Necessity & Distress, But if
 there is any person that is the occasion of any friviolus
 misunderstanding between you I wou'd willingly for peace &
 Quitness, & a good understanding between you both (meaning
 you and Capt. moor.) *find room here for them* Rather then their
 shou'd be any Difference between you, & shou'd be glad if
 such wou'd make all Eassy. Then upon further methods, you
 say you do not chuse to Stay, Suppose your Carpenter's &
 mine was to put the house in the marsh in Repair, & was to
 resort to that, with ab't 6 men for three month's, I think
 wou'd do Very well, & wou'd be a mean's to Wipe away all
 anomosity's & tisturbances that may have been between you,

Sir, you must observe in the first place, I must consider the
 Company's Interest upon all occation's, then my own character,
 Next your can but understand what I am able to Do in the
 way of assisting as much as I can—without being any Determt.
 to our Selves, its my real intintion to act with Justice to you
 both, therefore hope you will Excuse my fredom, as I give the
 afore said as my opinion only; (being Very unwilling to Dable
 too much in muddy water;) & Remain wth. my Service to all
 with you, Hoping you will Except the Same from Sr.

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York Fort

Decr. the 23d: 1746

James Isham

THURSDAY Wind N.Wt. with a thick Ryme and Cold the 24th
 sharpe weather; Rec'd from Capt. smith the following Letter

Sr.

" I was Vissiting one of my tents w'n your Letter was put
 " into my hand, for which I am oblig'd to you no Less, then
 " for the fran'k manner in which you Express Your Self, as to

1746
Decr.

" the misunderstandings between me & capt. moor,¹ I must
" certainly approve with you that all means of aggravating itt
" Shou'd avoided, & that is agreeable both to my practice &
" instructions, as I wou'd Embrace any opportunity of being
" Reconcil'd But think with Submission as curcumstances now
" are between him & me, and Likely so to Continue, your
" concession of the favour askd. wou'd not be a heightning
" but a Lessning of such aggravations, for Capt. Moor
" mounts Last night a Guard of 4 men wth. Drawn Swords,
" holds the Same way of Expression and Whatever I say in
" my apartm't that is Lestened to and Represented as his
" humour Likes, I must not Speak to Such a person or officer
" of mine but I give him offence. by which the course of my
" Buisness is interrupted, but I must bear with itt, for if I
" speak then words would arise, & that I avoid, tho on their
" parts they frequently fling out insulting Expressions, for Me
" to hear, & from this I beleive that you will agree with me,
" that the best way, so as he may not have an opportunity of
" thus feeding his humour, or of such further aggravations, is
" for us to Seperate, besides in the Situation we are we can not
" Either of us Employ our thoughts on the Buisness, we are
" come on, tho' our Duty to our owners, who are otherwise
" Deserv'd & the undertaking prepedied requires itt. Spring
" comes on apace, and its Necessarry our men shoud not be
" Engag'd in Such unhappy affairs, if parted Reconciliation may
" happen, and, if itt Does not happen, then the ill Consequence
" will be Less, then our continuing, and as I doubt not your
" Sentimts. will now be the Same, hope your compliance will not
" be contrary, Either to the Interst of the Company your
" character, nor with any Determt. to your Selves; for I wou'd
" not Expect nor Even ask a favour on any Such term's.

" As to their being any person the occation of the
" misunderstandings, your offer to serve me in Entering whom
" is Very obliging I can not consider this affair in such a Light,
" itt's not a person remov'd will make Capt. Moor Eassie,
" for that my clark wou'd readily consent to seperate himself

¹ There is no mention of these misunderstandings in the log of the *California*.

" immediately, but I must part with sentiments which I can 1746
 " not, conforming with my instructions, & this obligation I am Decr.
 " under to the proprietors.

" the Situation of the goose house is such as I fear will not
 " Suit with my own health, or the health of those that wou'd
 " be with me; itt is also attented with many ill conveniences,
 " the Distance from my people, my Stores, my ship &c. but I
 " sincerely thank you for the offer & that of the assistance of
 " your men.

" I fear I am tidious but the Necessity I am under to remove;
 " If I imagine to Live but an hour comfortable, or to have
 " what I greatly wish an opportunity of reconciliation, between
 " me & Capt. moor, causes my thoughts to Dwell on the
 " Subject; its true Capt. moor does not turn me out of the
 " house, according to the common acceptance of the word, as
 " itt implies human force, but as I can not be Eassy here, &
 " Ease is Necessary both to my health, as well as the
 " undertaking, I am Distres'd! I am Distresd.! untill I have
 " itt I must Seek itt otherwise;

" I am Sincerly obligd. to you for yours, & take itt Very
 " freindly. heartily wishing you the Complimts. of the
 " Season, & to all the Gentlemen, & be assur'd I am

Yr. Obligd. Servt. & freind

Winter Hall

francis Smith

Decr. the 24th 1746

& at Noon Rec'd the following Letter from Capt. moor;

Sir

" Your's of the 19th I rec'd by the taylor which gives me
 " pleasure to hear that Dover¹ Deserves yr. countenance, I
 " assure you that he was Very well recommendd. to me, &
 " Behav'd Very well on board as far as Ever I heard of, the
 " Little Indn. fellow I gave a Botle of brandy a Little oatmeal,
 " and a few plum's,

¹ Richard Drover, who was engaged in May, 1746, to serve the Company for five years as a sawyer (A. 6/7, fo. 97).

APPENDIX A

1746
Decr.

" Sr. if you cou'd Spare me one of your smith's for a Little
 " while, as soon as Christmass is over, to make some Iron
 " work &c. that our boate will Require, itt will be gratefully
 " acknowledged by me who am

Sir your most Obedient most

Montagu House Humble Servt.

Decr. 24. 1746

William Moor

25

THURSDY. Little wind at N.Wt. & sharpe weather with
 a thick Ryme sent the following to Ct. moor

Sir

I Recd. a Letter Last night in answer to which, I have so
 much work for the Smith's that I can not possable Spare them
 upon any acc't. I have Sent a pair of snow shoes for you which
 the Inds. Nitt, but not with the seal skin as itt wou'd not Do,
 and Conclude wishing you peace & happiness as to the times
 & am

Sir Your Very Humble Servt.

York Fort

James Isham

Decr. 25. 1746

att Night Rec'd the following answer,

Sir,

" The snow shoes & your Letter for which I Return you
 " thanks, I Rec'd this morning wherein you say you can't
 " Spare your smith's because you have gott so much work for
 " him to do.

" Sir I have all a long understood you have two smith's¹
 " Either of which will do what we have to do in a Very Little
 " time, & in Exchange I shall be willing to Let you have two
 " or three, men in his Room, & find them with flower the
 " same as your men; my best Compliments to all your mess,

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 122d., August 14, 1746, names Benjamin Shepperd and William Aspinall as the blacksmiths at York Factory.

" wishing that 47 may be a happy year to us all, is the wish of ¹⁹⁴⁶ Decr.
 " Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

Christmass Day
 Montagu House

William Moor

SATURDAY moderate weather Recd. the following Letter ^{27th}
 from Capt. Smith

Sir,

" In your Last you was so obliging as to make me an offer,
 " of Entertaining a person who shou'd be the occation of
 " frivoulous Misunderstandings between me & Capt. Moor,
 " not as I Look on my Clark in that Light, but upon this I
 " as'k that my Clark may be Entertain'd he having Desir'd.
 " me to Let him come to you, as Capt. Moor promisses peace,
 " & a better agrem't if he is removd. & on the other hand
 " Capt. Moor, threatning me to use a Behaviour which I
 " shou'd be Very sorry shou'd happe'n between the two ships,
 " upon these accts. I consent to his going to the factory, if you
 " will be pleasd. to Entertain him, my opinion is he is not
 " Deserving of the treatmt. he receives, he hath allways
 " Behavd. in a Gentleman manner to me, & Judge by what
 " has pasd. During the time, he hath been with me, you will
 " report the same when he comes from yr. factory; it is in
 " Humour to the times, I Let him Leave me, not for any
 " offence I Know him to be Guilty of; my request with
 " respect to mr. Dragg is not to be understood in the place of that
 " askd. by me; of my own come Down to the factory, if itt can
 " be granted, & for your Compliance as soon as Suiatable.

" I shall take the first opportunity of seing you, as to
 " Setling the satisfaction which must be made for my Clark's
 " Entertainmt. you must Excuse this not being my own hand,
 " by reason I have a pain in my Eyes & head, which made itt
 " almost impossible, & be assur'd.

Sir I am Yr. Obligd. Servt. & freind

Winter Hall
 Dec'r. 26 1746

francis smith

1746
Decr.

the 30th

The Clar'k Broug't this to which I made no answer to, he returnd. to the french creek not thinking itt Safe to return to winter hall, he Left a Letter wth. me to Deleiver to capt. smith's men wh. I did in two hour's afterwards, & 21 partridges being 27 for capt. Moor Left.

TUESDAY moderate weather & Little wind at Wt. this morning took a walk¹ up to ten shilling creek, wth. my men, for a Load of plank; call'd to Know how the Capts. & all with them Did, their house being just by, found a Difference between them by their actions, therefore did not Stay, Mr. Elliss came Down with me made heavy complaints of his Like to have been murtherd, by capt. Smith's Clar'k & another &c. But I Desir'd him not to mention to me any thing abt. that & their Differences, for that I wou'd not concer'n my Self Either one way or another, & that if they Sent any more Letters to me concerning of Such I wou'd make no answer; at Noon he went back, at the Same time their men Brought. 30 plank & carried Brandy &c. up.

WEDNESDAY Wind N.Wt. & Ryme weather, Sent a Letter to Excuse my not comming to Day;

To capt. Smith
Sir.

I did propose to have come for more plank to Day, but was take'n with a feavour Last night & Very bad to Day cou'd not, I askd. Capt. moor if he wou'd walk Down, & being in haste Did not ask you, but hope we shall have your company with him I am Sir

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

Decr. 31t 1746

James Isham

Jan'ry
3d

SATURDY. Very warm weather wind SWt. nothing material since the 31t Sent the following Letter to Capt. Moor.

¹ B. 239/a/28, confirms that Isham went to Ten Shilling Creek on December 30. but the log of the *California* records the visit as being on December 29.

Sr.

You was mentioning your mens comming again after the Holliday's, itts true they might be of Service to me, but having a pretty many at home & short of provisions, I can not possable Entertain them otherwise wou'd withall my heart, but in case you cou'd Spare your taylor he wou'd be of service to us; & you'l oblige yr.

1747
Jany.

Very Humble Servt.

Jany. 3d 1746/7

James Isham

To Capt. Smith
Sir

I hope you & mrs. Kitty is well as for my part I am Laid up with the Gout, where warm flannel & patience must be the only Remedy; Sr. if you have done with the weights & Scails I shou'd be oblig'd to you for to Send them hoping you will please to Remember a Small grapnell in case itt shou'd be Lost, Sir if you cou'd Spare your taylor he wou'd be of service to me, & I shall use him as our own men; & you'l oblige

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

Jany. 3 1746/7

James Isham

att Noon Rec'd the following answer.

Gov'r. Isham

" Sr.

" In answer to your's this Day I shall send you the taylor by " times on monday, & do assure you that Either my men or " any thing Else that I can spare is at your service, for rather " then you shou'd fall short of provisions, you may have " flower, pease, oatmeal, or a Cask or two of Beef, which I shall " Leave to your self to Return in fresh when the Spring is in, " I am wth. Sincerity

Sir Your most Obedient & most

Montagu house Humble Servt.

Jany. 3d 1746/7

William Moor

P.S. Monday I think to go wth. my carpenters to 12m

1747
Jan'y

Island, to Look for some poplar for the boate, & if you wou'd Let your Sawyers split me 3 plank I wou'd take itt up along with me.

Sir

" I Rec'd the favour of your's & am Extreamly sorry to hear " you have gott the gout wch. I hope will wear of again in a " Short time; for my part I am but Very indifferent being much " troubled at New Differences arising since I see you Last, Sir, " I have not Done with yr. Weights & Scails as yet, & hope you " will please to Excuse my not Sending them to Day, but " shall send them on mondy.¹ Your grapnel is on board, my " ship, & shall be sent with the weights & Scails; I did not " Know I had such a thing of your's tell I askd. my mate, or " itt shou'd have been sent before, Sr. You are Very welcome " to my taylor who I shall send tomorrow, & doubt not of your " treatm't. I intent to do my Self the favour of Seeing you " tomorrow, if the weather permitts. Kitty joyn's with me in " Sincerely wishing you a better State of health, & the " Compliments of the Season, & Remain Sr.

Yr. most Obedient humble Servt.

Winter Hall

francis Smith

Jany. 3d 1746/7

7th

WEDNESDAY blow'd fresh at N.Wt. b N. & cold sharpe weather; Capt. smith & his Lady came here Yesterdy. to pay me a Vissit, & to Day hear'd that his Boatswain Departed this Life.²

the 14th

WEDNESDY. Capt. smith's men came here Brought. 10 plank, & Returnd with Brandy, Likewise Brought. a Burrow & a bed for Cap't smith, who begd. the favour to Stay a small

¹ According to the log of the *California* these weights and scales were returned to Isham, as promised, on Monday, January 5, 1747.

² Log of the *California*, January 6, 1747, "This Day I [Francis Smith] went down to the Factory . . ."; January 7, "About 8 A.M. Departed this life Francis Morrice late Boatswain one hand came to me at the Factory to acquaint me of it."

time, in hopes of their being a reconciliation between them by that means; and at Noon mr. Elliss came for a Walk; who is I understand Very Desirious of a reconciliation between the two Capts. I only told him that a Seperation for a small time wou'd be a means to bring them togeather again, & I Did not Doub't if I cou'd see the Capts. meat, the misunderstanding might be Easily adjusted; at Noon he returnd. to the ships.

FRIDAY a continuance of small snow all Day & warm weather; wind Variable at Noon Rec'd the following from Capt. Moor:

Js. Isham

Sir

" If itt shou'd be made appear to the North west Committee,¹
 " at our Return to England, that you Encourage Capt. Smith
 " to Leave Montagu house to the prejudice of our undertakings,
 " (I do not Doubt but you will find some trouble in the affair.)
 " the time he has been Down along with you he has Lost his
 " Boatswain a princible officer, & Several more of his people
 " is in Such a condition, as I think shou'd require them to be
 " under the same Roof with their Commandr. the poor Souls
 " that is ailing here at the house, Lyes upon the floor when at
 " the same time their is Spare cabbins to hold them I shou'd
 " have writ Now & acquainted Capt. smith with this, & a
 " great many more material things, had not he usd. me in the
 " Scurvy manner he Did in Returning my Last Letter, which
 " he shall Never have the opportunity to Serve me so again, my
 " Service to all yr. mess, & I am

Sr. Yr. most Obedient Servt.

Montagu house

Wm. Moor,

Jany. 16: 1746/7

P.S. As Capt. smith has take'n himself away from the
 " house, I hope he will take his Madam also! & not to give
 " me the trouble to remove her.

¹ The committee representing the subscribers to the expedition of 1746-47.

1747
Jan'y

When I sent the following answer

Sir

I Rec'd Your Letter of this Day's, and can not comprehend your meaning for asserting my Encouraging Capt. Smith to Leav his house or men &c. Neither do I apprehend any trouble in any honorable proceedings, I do not Doub't but their will be things made appear to your committee at the ships Return to England; to the no small Determt. to Several; please to Remember I told you before or at Least told mr. Elliss some time ago, that I shou'd not concer'n my Self in any of your affairs; more than to assist you both Equally; in wt. was requir'd & so far as to be no Determt. to our Selves; & the Reason of Capt. smith's Leaving his men I am ignorant of, more than I invited you both wn. I was at your house, wn. he came & shou'd have been glad of your Company also; being here 3 Days he found himself better in health & my own men being all abroad he begd. the favour to Stay a Little Longer; told him if he apprehend no ill consequence by itt he might Stay a small time, for that in feby. I Did not Doub't but he wou'd be able to work upon his ship; Neither can I conceive how his being here shou'd be any prejudice, to yr. undertaking at this Dead time of the Year. but Let a man act with Never so much truth & honesty &c. I say itt may be represented, in a Different Light just as a mans thoughts & inclination carry's him. I hear'd that Capt. Smith Lost a man the Day after he was here, & that you Lost a man before I understood, wch. I am sorry to hear, as for the Remaindr. of your Letter itt wou'd have been better for to have Dictiated itt to Capt. Smith for I do assure you once more, itt's not my Desire to hear any of your Greiviances, & that its Suffitient to be concern'd in my affairs only, Sr. if itt had suited with your Buisness I shou'd have been Glad to have Seen you, & am Sr.

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York Fort

Jany. 16 1746/7

James Isham

SATURDAY Wind at N. with snow & moderate weather 1747
 Recd. the following from Capt. Moor

Jan'y
 the 17th

Govr. Isham

Sr.

" if my Last was take'n otherwise than Design'd, I am sorry
 " for itt, for I do now assure you, I thought I writt itt in a
 " freindly manner, so far contrary touching of your conduct,
 " that I only said (if itt shou'd be made appear &c.) whereas
 " both you & I may mean Very well, & Look upon itt as our
 " Duty, to do all the good Naturd. actions for our fellow
 " creatures, that Lyes in our power, not hurting our Selves, yet
 " having wrong constructions put on what we thought was no
 " more than Serving of our freind, may turn at Last much to
 " our Determt. I shall do my Self the pleasure to come to See
 " you, the first opportunity, that I've, untill then I subscribe
 " Sr.

Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

Montagu house

William Moor,

Jany 17. 1746/7

P.S. if you cou'd spare Drover for a few hours, to Split me
 just 2 plank, itt wou'd greatly oblige Sir yrs. W.M.

When I sent the following answer,

Sir,

I Recd. Yr. Letter in now & concerning our Sawyers they
 just now came home, & have sent 2 men for to complete yr.
 job, which I believe they'l hardly do to Day, so please to Send
 them tomorrow, I am Sr. Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York fort Jany. 17. 1746/7

James Isham

P.S. I shou'd be glad of yr. company at all opportunity.

Itts a Surprizing thing that these Gentlemen cannot be Eassy
 by themselves, but they must Endeavour to bring me into a
 priminary, wch. I hope to avoied by my Steady adherance to
 them both, so far as itt concern's me &c.

1747
Jan'y
18th

SUNDAY a fresh gale at N. & cold sharpe weathr. with Snow & Drift, Recd. the following Letter from Capt. Moor

Sr.

" the two Sawyers has splitt two 3 inch plank 2 cutts in
" Each, & one cutt in the 3d plank, wch. I will assure you is a
" great favour done,

Sr. Your most Obedient Hble. Servt.

Montagu house William Moor,
Jany. 17th 1746/7

the 23d

FRIDAY Little wind at NWt. & Ryme, sent the following Letter to Capt. Moor

Sr.

Our men comming your way take this opportunity to Enquire after yr. health, hoping You are all well; & have sent by the Barrer a Rump of Venison, & am

Sr. Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York Fort James Isham
Jany. 23: 1746/7

& at Noon Rec'd the following answer,

Govr. Isham

Sr.

" I am much obligd. for yr. Kind Enquire you make after
" my health, thank god I and all that belongs to me is Very
" well; but wan't nothing more at prest. but a Little fresh
" provision, that the Rump of Venison is Very acceptable to
" Sir

Yr. most Obedient Hble. Servt.

Montagu house William Moor
Jany. 23d 1746/7

Feby.
9th

MONDAY the wind Variable & cloudy Very warme though in the midle of the Day, at Noon Capt. moors men came here Brought. a Load of plank for me & carried Brandy Cheese Beef

&c. up by whom I understand they perpose to work upon their ship this Day Sennig't 1747
Feby.

TUESDY. wind & weather as Yesterdy. Mr. Elliss came the 10th here for a Walk & Return'd.

THURSDY. a fresh gale at Wt. N Wt. with Drift & the 12th sharpe weather, since the 10th Wind & Weathr. Variable Capt. smith's men went Down below for pitch &c. Carried such up to ten shilling Creek.

WEDNESDY. blow'd fresh at Wt.S.Wt. & Very warm thaw'd much in the midle of the Day, at Noon a fresh gale at N. Ct. Moor's men came Broug't plank & Return'd with Brandy &c. when I understood another of Ct. Smith's men Departed this Life.¹ 18th

FRIDAY Little wind at SWt. & clear sharpe weathr. untill the 20th 3 afternoon, then a fresh gale at N.Et. with small snow; Ct. Moor's men Brough't a Load of plank Return'd with Beef &c. to Day Ct. Smith went to Montagu house (so calld.) at Noon Return'd understood that he & Ct. Moor had been in company togeather being the first time they have conversd togeather for above this two month's past.

MONDAY Wind Variable & moderate weather Rec'd the the 24th following from one Mosses Wing of the *Callifona*. [23rd]

Sr.

" the unhappy Situation I am under obliges me to flying my
" Self before you.

" I Labour under a Disease neither Infectiou's nor
" Loathsom but are so reduc'd as to Expect a Desolution
" unless you will permitt me to have mr. Brady's advice whose
" skill & Qualification as a physician inable's him to assist me,
" Mr. Gynn our Surgeon saying he can serve me no further.

" I fear itt will be necessary for to consult him Every Day &
" sometime's oft'ner for a Small time, & therefore hope, you
" will permitt me to be Down, with him the Expence's of
" which or any other satisfaction I shou'd Joyfully make.

¹ According to the log of the *California* Thomas Harding died on February 17. Captain Smith had also lost another of his sailors, William Gale, on January 28.

1747
Feby.

" That Humanity which you are Known to Extent on
 " Every occation I hope will not be restrain'd from me, you
 " will in charity contribute's toward's the saving of the Life,
 " which otherwise Excepting thro' the Extrodinary mercies of
 " God! I must Expec't to Loose a Life, which shall be
 " afterwards in a Gratefull Rememberance & Expression of
 " you it's preserver, & as your petitioner shall Ever pray,
 &c:

Winter Hall

feby. 23d 1746/7

When I sent the following to mr. Gynn Surgeon of the
Calliforña.

Sr.

I Rec'd a Letter to Day from one of yr. patients with no Name, but understand itt was from one Mosses wing, who Desire's protection & assistance of my Surgeon, wherein he Say's you acquaint him you are not able to Do any further for him, if so, I wou'd Very Readily allow protection & the assistance of my Surgeon for the preservation of any man's Life, (& the good of the undertakings) if otherwise, I wou'd not Disoblige you by admitting of such,

& Remain Sr.

York fort

feby. 23d 1746/7

Yr. Very Hble. Servt.

James Isham

The following I sent to Mosses wing;

Sr.

I Rec'd a Letter to Day wch. I understand is from you, which you forgot to Sign, & am sorry for yr. indisposition.

I have acquainted yr. Surgeon concerning itt, wch. if he approves of, I shall Very Readily allow you the assistance of my Surgeon.

I wou'd (as its an ac't of Charity to any person) allow you protection so far as I am able, for your preservation, & the good of the undertakings.

I have also acquainted the Ct. who approves of itt, therefore ¹⁷⁴⁷ if no Determ't or Dislike to your Surgeon, you may Excep't of Feby. our assistance tomorrow, & Remain

Yr. friend & Servt.

York Fort

feby. 23d 1746/7

James Isham

at the Same time Ct. Smith's men came with Some plank carried up Brandy Beef &c.

TUESDY.¹ Little wind at S.Wt. untill 11 forenoon then a fresh brease at N.Et. Ct. Smith's Sled came Down carrie'd up Beef &c. also one of Ct. Moor's men came Desir'd the Lent of some Narrow Ice Chissels, for to cutt their ship out, having begun upon cutting the Ice from abou't the *Dobbs* yesterday, when I sent Some & the following Letter to Ct. Moor.

Sr.

I have sent by the Barrer 18 Narrow Ice Chissels, he acquainting me you Desir'd the Lent of them; But I suppose they will not be much worth by then you have done with them if they are please to Return them & Remain

Sr. Yr. Very Humble Servt.

feby. 24th 1746/7

James Isham

at Noon Rec'd a Letter from mr. Gynn Surgeon of the *Calliforna*,

Montagu House feby. 24th 1746/7

Sr.

I Rec'd your's of the 23d & note the purport that those Lines you Rec'd was Dictated by Drage, as also a petition to Ct. smith, Surely Sr. you can not be ignorant of the meaning

¹ Log of the *California*, Tuesday, February 24, 1747, "... the great Sledge brought down ... Moses Wing he having petitioned the Governor for the assistance of Mr. Brady, he being very much afflicted with the Rheumatism & Scurvy ...".

1747
Feby.

of this, if you are, I'll inform you, tis a scheme contrivd. or concerted by my inveterate Enemy's to prejudice my character, & inviolate my accusation against them, the omission of the author's name was not thro' hurry or inadvertancy but art & Design is a Strong testimony, that the Subject of the Letter is false or they wou'd have Dar'd to Sign itt. with Respect to my inability of helping him further, is absolute false; you say if itt was otherwise you wou'd not Disoblige me by admitting him, then how happen's that their is a positive order for his going Down; before you have my answer or Know whether it's so or not, this Looks Like consulting me, I cou'd wish your Regard for the Expedition were such as You Express; But its impossible we cannot Serve god & mamon, some time or other you'l probaly wish you had taken Less pains in our affair's, we do not care to be amus'd nor is the Vail so obscure but itt may be seen through; that Law is unheard; that is to Justifie you for Encouraging or Entertaining any person belonging to us, upon application by a Letter from nobody.

Sr. I conclude yr. Very Humble Servt.

James Gwynn

Which Letter I sent no answer to, the said wing came Down this forenoon without order. by a mistake of mr. Holdings who told him he had Express orders for him to come to the fort by Ct. Smith which was false, & occation'd mr. Gwynn to write me the above Letter. the answer of wch. I did not Send him but is as follows.

Sr.

Both wing, Drage, & other's are Stranger's to me as to their Styl or conversation &c. therefore how shou'd I imagine that Letter was Dictated by any other person but the man that Sent itt. this & the petition you mention I am ignorant of; & think itt a Base action & a nice point to Defame any man's character, the omission of the Name is Very Redicilous, With Respect to your ability you Say the man's Letter was false, I do not pretend to Justifie the man's Letter in that point, But

think he acted Very imprudently; to acquaint me with Such if itt was otherwise You mention a possitive order for his comming Down, from Who! pray, I am unacquainted with this, But waited your answer in a Different Light to what you Sent, my Regard for the Expedition is so far as any faithfull Subject wou'd do, (that is the saving a man's Life is an additionall strength on board the ship &c. therefore for the good of the undertakings.) my thoughts & Employments is consistant with other affairs, Neither wou'd I have you imagine I pry into any of your affairs more than needs must. What is this Vail that is so obscure that itt may be seen thro', I wou'd be obligd. to the person that will prove any underhand Dealings I may have committed, that Law is unheard &c. my action's is so clear, & with such true intentions, without any falsehood &c. that I do not Doubt but to Justifie my Self, for my part & future conduct, before proper person's when Requir'd, my Encouraging any person belonging to you. Sr. I hope you'l Excuse my inadvertency here, as I did not Know you was Commandr. before other wise wou'd have made application to you before Ct. Smith came here &c. altho the Letter was not Sign'd yet upon Enquire I found itt was from wing. But to Say itt was from no body I do not Comprehend, (I cou'd wish Yr. minds were more Steady & firm) & in Regard to the Design you came upon, & not to make possability's of nothing, & upon the Least action's to aggravate things to a misunderstanding one amongst another & Remain

Yr. Servt.

James Isham

feby. 25 1746/7

THURSDY. Wind Variable from Wt. to N & Et. & clear March sharpe weather; this afternoon Capt. Smith & his Lady the 5 Returnd. to their house, at ten shilling Creek.

FRIDAY a fine brease at Wt.SWt. & clear sharpe weather, the 6th Both the Capts. Sleds came Down carried up provision's, took a Walk to ten shilling Creek, & Return'd in 2 hour's Did not go into any of their Dwelling's.

1747
March
the 11

the 14th

WEDNESDY. a hard gale at N.Wt. & clear sharpe weathr. with Drift, Lent the use of the house in the marsh to Capt. smith, to put his provisions &c. in offer'd the same to Capt. moo'r but was not Excepted of, at the same time Capt. Smith's men carried one Load of Cask's Down;
 SATURDAY a hard gale at N.N.Wt. with snow & Drift to Day sent 3 men that was here to Montagu house, one being so bad he can not walk, & the following Letter's Vizt.

To Capt. Moor,
Sr.

As the time of the Year is come I suppose you will Require all your men abu't the ship's &c. therefore as I wou'd not have itt be said (whether itt's so or not.) that my Detaining them may be of ill consequence & a Determt. to your proceeding's I have therefore sent your two men back, the assistance of whom I Return you thanks for, & conclude

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

March the 14. 1746/7

James Isham

To Capt. Smith,
Sr,

As the time of year is come I suppose you will Require all your men about the ship's, &c. therefore as I wou'd not have it be Said, (whether it's so or not,) that my Detaining them may be of ill consequence & a Determ't to your proceeding's, I have therefore sent your man back, the assistance of whom I Return you thank's for; as soon as Mosses is able to walk, I shall send him or sooner if you Require itt, & conclude, Sr.
 Yr. Very Humble Servt.

March the 14th 1746/7

James Isham

& at Noon Sent the following to both Cpts.

Gentlemen

I am oblig'd once again to trouble you concerning the Inds. which I Doubt not but you have heard of, you must be sensible their has been a Gang of Inds. at your tent's up ten

shilling Creek, from Wednesday forenoon to this Day forenoon, 1747
when they went away Drunk; and some of your men, (which March
 the Inds. says was at the Large tent,) has traffick't or tradd. 2
 pair of snow shoes, by wch. they are not able to gett up to their
 family's, I can but observe to you Gentlemen, these proceedings
 are not in the Least conformable to yr. Instruction's, or
 answerable to the promise you gave me, that their shou'd be no
 traffick or trading with the Natives &c. & I must Desire
 of you, to Send me those snow shoes Down, that I may send
 them to the Inds. & Desire you will order your men for the
 future not to harbour any Inds. at their tent's & Remn.

Srs. Your Very Humble Servt.

March the 14th 1746/7

James Isham

At the Same time sent a Letter to mr. frost to order him to
 have a Stricter Eye upon the Natives.

SUNDAY blow'd hard at SWt., & cloudy raw cold weathr. the 15th
 Ct. Moor sent personally by mr. Frost, to acquaint me that if
 I did not Send him fresh provisions or send men to procure
 him some, he wou'd plant his men on both Sides of the River
 that no Engsh. or Indian shou'd pass, and that no man shou'd
 come a nigh their ships at their perill. But I think I must ask
 this Gentleman's pardon for this intimate's more of pyracy &
 Robber's than of the Design that Brought them here &c.

MONDAY a Very hard gale at N.Wt. with snow & Drift the 16
 & sharpe weather, at Noon Recd. the following Letter from
 Ct. Moor.

Govr. Isham

Montagu house March 16 1746/7

Sr.

" Both your's of the 14th Instant came to hand and as to the
 " Detainmt. of the Indians I'm intirely ignorant tis well
 " Known I had allways Cheif or second Mate, besides other's
 " officers constantly residing at the tents to prevent disorders
 " of any sorts, those two I send down will inform you if they
 " Know any thing about itt. The Remaining part of your
 " Letter Lay's Great Stress on our promise and the

1747
March

"unconformity of our conduc't, to our Instructions, a proper
"answer to the first is a repetition of our Very promise, is a
"L'r, of the 5 Sepr. & run's thus.

" As to the Prohibition you mention of of trading with the
" inhabitants within the precincts of the Company's Charter,
" Tis our indent to carry on no Ellicdet trade with them, or
" any traffick but for the comon necessity's of Life, and those
" only when we shall not be supplyd. with them from you,
" This we have cheifly adheard to meat and Cloath's are the
" common, the first Necessity's of Life, yet we have not Even
" traffickt for those tho in want. now we have been Supplyd.
" with them from you is Very Remarkable;

" The second article which respects to my Instructions
" I answer this *Neither you nor C. Smith do or shall Know what*
" they are. If I transgress then I am answerable in England,
" and if any one Else has Behav'd rediculously, betrayd. their
" trust, Expos'd their folly &c. they must account for itt at a
" proper season.

" Itt now Remains to acquaint you with my final Resolution,
" which is, if you cou'd serve us with a Little fresh provision's
" for our sick men we will persist as we have Done, if not I
" shall send men to procure itt where it's to be had, that is to
" Say up the Great River, & ten shilling Creek, for my men
" shall not Linger tantalus Like, in the midst of 200 Deer
" Ready Kill'd. I am

Your most Humble Servt.

William Moor

P.S. Severall of our men are fallen into the Scurvy thro want
of fresh provision, & 5 of our best men are Lam'd by sprains,
for want of snow shoes, you having Sent only 3 pr. for above
40 men.

When I sent the following answer

Sr.

I Rec'd a Letter in now from you, and observe by what your
mate's inform's me that they Know nothing concerning the

Shoes &c. therefore I shall Let such Drop tell time inform's me better. Sr. I wou'd not have you put your self too much trouble in this for I want not to Know your Instruction's nor nothing concerning your affair's, all I shall do is to perform the trust & charge I am under to my Employers &c. Your final Resolution, I observe, & think itt was a Very out of the way Expression you was pleas'd to Send by word of mouth by mr. frost,—200 Deer Ready Killd.—I cou'd wish withall my heart your information was true, none of us shou'd be in want. But they as informd. you I Doubt wants to go to school to Learn the Lingo Better. You talk of my Sparing you provisions Really if you Knew the Curcumstances I am under my Self, I'm certain you wou'd not Require such, but I'll inform You, first we can gett no partridges, nay not Even one, Notwithstanding the Best hunter's I have out, Next you must Know I have but six Cask's of geese in the factory for two month's, & no other sort of meat Kind, or provisions Excep't Grain, & meal, now I'll leave you seriously to consider, whether it's in my power to assist you, as to the Indians that Kill'd Deer above 80 miles from the fort, consider I say their's upwards of 70 mouth's to mentain who can not be Kep't upon Nothing.

I observe in your Letter Jany. 3d you mention you woud Leave a Cask or two of Beef, to my Self in Exchange for fresh in the spring, that provision then wou'd be of Little Service to me, But if it had been proposd. to have spar'd me some at those times, I wou'd & cou'd then have Very well spar'd part of what partridges I had &c. in Exchange for salt, & wou'd yet if please god I cou'd gett any Quantity; upon such proposal's, which I think is nothing but wt. is Just & reasonable, & Remain

Your Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

York fort

March the 16th 1746/7

FRIDAY moderate at S. & SSwt. & clear, Recd. a Letter the 20th from mr. Thompson Surgeon of the *Dobs Galley* Vizt.

1747
March

1747
March

Sr.

" As we have now allmost seen through a Long and tedious winter with the Loss of one man only, altho we have Livd. all the time Chiefly upon salt provisions; and wt. Little matter Else our men has gott through their own industry & great fatigue, they not being us'd to the Country, and badly supply'd with proper Necessary's and as fresh Diet is the only thing we want or Desire During our stay here, and frequent application having been made to you, both personally & by Letter, without the Least notice or regard paid to Either. Now whether such applications has been made in a proper manner or no, (or to your Liking) I cannot say, But I take this opportunity most Humbly to request & desire of you, in the name of all our owner's and Employer's, to make use of your best Endeavour's with the Natives of the Country to Supply me, who is, and has been in a bad State of health Ever since I Left England; also all those men who are imediately under my care, they are the major part of our best hands, and upon whom the Grand National affair we are now upon greatly Depends, you may make wt. charge you please in moderation, and I will Draw a Bill upon the Secretary of our Committee, payable upon sight, the Exceptance whereof I hope no one will scruple, when Sign'd by my self & other officers of our Council, and this I think will be a Sufftient testimony & Justification for you to your masters. Greatly oblige our owner's, Besides reaping the Blessing and hearty thanks' of our whole ship's Company, and more Espetiatly my Self who Remain's and allway's shall continue to be a Sincere freind and Well wisher to all honest Men Whilst.

March 20th 1746/7

Edwd. Thompson

When I sent the following answer

Sr.

Its a great Blessing thro' gods goodness your men in Generall has continued so well in health Heatherto, But this

time of the Year (as I imagine,) is the worst time for Disorders 1747
that men are troubled in these parts (the scury) therefore its March
without Dispute they Require good care and proper
Nourishmt. if such cou'd be had. as to their being in want of
proper Necessary's—as I have understood none of you had
any thoughts or Design at your first setting out for to winter
at these forts, therefore shou'd have imagin'd you wou'd have
been Suffitiently Supplyd with Such before your Departure
from England, Espetially as severall of you was no Strangers
to the Country, howsomever they have been Supplyd from me
with what was Desir'd & so far as I was able with all the
Beavr. &c. in the factory Employing Indians to Dress &
make Coats, this you can not be ignorant of. Yes Sr.
application has been made to me in a Very unaccountable
manr. the Expression is so fresh in my memory that I can not
Readily forgett itt so soon, " (if I did not send them fresh
" provisions, or send men to procure them some, they wou'd
" plant Both sides of the River that no English or Indn. shou'd
" pass, and no man shou'd come anigh the Ships at their peri'l.)
now I allway's thought these ships was upon a National
Concern, and came here as freinds and true Subjects of
England, and not as pyrates and Robbers, or to Distress his
Majesty's Subjects in these parts, (as the above Expression
seem's to intimate.) You say,—without the Least notice or
Regard paid to Either—here Sr. I must needs say you tax me
unjustly when I agreed and applied Inds. to hunt partridges
&c. at the first application made to me, tell such times as
Necessity obligd. me to Employ them for my Self, & I'm
certain you will not think itt strange, or that I acted
ungenourously by so Doing, when I truly inform you, I have
now but five Cask's of geese in the factory for 33 men for two
months, & no other sort of meat Kind (self preservation is the
first Law of Nature).

I was never backward in my time, of Encouraging Natives
to Supply us with Country provisions Espetially at Such a
time as this, and you are sensible our whole Dependance is
from them, and have sent a man up to Know ingeniously wt.

Distance, and wt. the Natives has gott. (and itt allway's shall be my Endeavour's to assist the oppresd. and Distresd. so far as I'm able) and you can but have heard or Seen a Letter I sent yr. Commdr. Last, wherein I tell him If I can possible get any fresh provisions, I'll Let him have part provisior he will Return me salt in the Room, as I am Distresd. for such as above mentiond, or if he had made this proposal I cou'd have Spar'd part of wt. I had. But otherwise I have given you a Sufftient Reason, that itt was not in my power and for such as I'm able to assist you all with I Require no Bill &c. as he has a Sufftient to make return otherways. God send us a plenty of provisions, and a good goose season which is our Next object & I conclude yr. Well wisher &

Very Humble Servt.

march 20. 1746/7

James Isham

P.S. I protest to you I have had but 3 partridgs. this 14 Days past Notwithstanding prime hunters out at the best places.

the 21st

SATURDAY Little wind & Variable Very warme, Ct.
Moor came here stayd. 5 minnits upon the bank and went to
the fourteen's,¹ to Lye all Night.

the 25th

WEDNESDAY. a fresh gale at N.Et. & cloudy with Small snow, understood Ct. Smith & all his men Return'd on board their ship, at the Same time Rec'd the following Letter,

Sr.

" As the goose Season approaches I must ask the favour to
" Let us have two Inds. to Shoot one for Each ship, but if
" Ct. moor should not chuse to make use of one of them I
" would then Engage them Both; you will also think itt
" proper that they shou'd be over on this Side; I am Sir

Your most obedient Servt.

Winter Hall

francis Smith

March 25th 1747

¹ Fourteens River. See Robson, *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay . . . , "A Draught of Nelson & Hayes's Rivers . . . "*.

THURSDAY Little wind & moderate weather at N.Et. 1747
Sent the following answer to Ct. Smith's March
26th

Sr.

I Return you my hearty thanks for the prest. sent by mr. Drag, I shall Let you Know further concerning Indians when they come in &c. I have sent 36 lb. Venison 8 tongues & 12 partridges, wch. is Such as I have at prest. & in part Return for the Beef rec'd as I hope to Return you satisfaction for the whole cask of Beef at times & Remain

York fort Your Very Humble Servt.

March 26 1747

James Isham

at the same time Recd. a Letter from Ct. Moor on the Same Subject, by mr. Elliss

Sr.

" the Season for Killing Geese being at hand I intreat you " to Spare me some Indians to be Employd. therein and send " them Hither, and as to the Reward & managemt. of them, " I would be glead you wou'd fix that your self, or order Gusti " frost, who if you Desire itt shall serve out the powder, and " shott &c. and Receive the Indians Return's for us, this I " thing absolutely necessary, as the Beaver will suddenly be " impassable, by thawing of the snow & ice, which must " Effectually put itt out of yr. power, to Send us any thing " were your inclination's Ever so good, What you observe " with Respect to my offer to you of English provisions, I did " always intent you shou'd make immediate use of wt. you " wanted, my L're I think Expressly say's so; nor did I mean " any more by a Return in fresh, then a Return of such " provisions as you shou'd be able to procure in the Spring, " fresh, or of that Seasons catchings, which Ever might be most " convenient to you, therefore I hope you will make use of my " offer without further Explination, As you say you can not " Spare me one of your smith you will oblige me if you wou'd " Let them make a few Rudder Iron's for the boate, the

1747
March

" Carpenters I send Down to give proper Direction's abt.
" them, and am

Your Very Humble Servt.

Montagu house 26 M'h

William Moor,

1747

P.S. Yesterdy. one of our men deid, I may Very Justly Say
thro' wan't of fresh Diet, 6 more are in a Deplorable condition,
besides other's Declining.

27

FRIDY. a fine brease at S.Wt. thawd. Very much, sent
the following to Ct. Moor

Sr.

In answer to your's Yesterdy. I now send you, that is. I
can say nothing to Inds. yet as I do not Know wt. Quantity I
shall have; but shall Let you Know further when Inds. comes,
I have made bold to take a cask of y'r Beef (Numbr. 44 peices
70) wch. I hope to Return at times in fresh, I have sent of such
as I have had Brought me, 54 lb. Deer's flesh, 18 partridges &
12 tongues, & hope to have a greater Quantity in a Week's
time provisor y'r men does not inturrup't the Inds. if I had
twice the men I have i cou'd Employ them, but if the smith
can do such after his Day's work so well & good, & conclude

Y'r Very Humble Servt.

March 27 1747

James Isham

P.S. I am sorry for the Sickness of yr. men and wish withall
my heart itt was in my power to Serve them. the Smith has
taken a barr of your Iron for the work. the above meat I act.
Equivolt. to 15 peices Beef.

April 11
the 4th

SATURDAY clear sharpe weather wind N.Wt. Ct. moor's
sled came here Brought 1 cannon and Returnd. wth. Brandy
&c. sent the following note

Sr.

I have sent 29 lb. Venison wch. is all at prest. from Your
Very Humble Servt.

York fort

James Isham

April 4 1747

at the same time Rec'd the following from Ct. smith

1747
Aprill

Sr.

" I have taken the Liberty to send the Barrer wth. the
 " Brandy as below to be Deleiverd to you, if convenient my
 " men will bring back the Remain's of shott sent for to Kill
 " partridges, I have sent 24 lb. flower to bake with your
 " permission, the Nr. of the Beef cask had of me is 26 conts. 64
 " peices

Your Very Humble Servt.

from on board the

Callaifornia Aprill 4 1747

francis Smith

Wn. I sent the following

Sr.

I have sent the Remains of shott wch. is 81 lb. & have sent
 also 18 lb. Venison wch. is all at prest.

from Your Very Humble Servt.

York Fort

James Isham

Aprill 4 1747

THURSDAY Little wind at S.Wt. & moderate weather, 9th
 sent the following Letter's to the Captain's,

to Ct. Moor

Sr.

Having Employd. J. Hugh's¹ this 8 Day's past to gett the
 Inds. nigher the factory, have at Last gott them to Kill me
 some Deer, wch. I have rec'd and have sent by your men 4
 Deer weigh 318 lb. which with what sent before makes
 Equivoltent to the 70 peices of Beef & 2 pieces over, if you
 propose to spare me any more upon the same condition in
 Exchange, as I hope to have more meat please to Let me
 Know, as I may place my accts. accordingly; & Remain

Yr. Very Humble Servt.

York fort

James Isham

Aprill 11 1747

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 122d., August 14, 1746, lists John Hughes as a labourer at York Factory.

1747
April

P.S. I made bold to give the Indian's 3 qts. Brandy as Encouragmt. to bring more so hope you will give them none, nor Let them stay near you, &c.

to Ct. Smith
Sr.

Having Employ'd J. Hugh's this 8 Day's past, to gett the Inds. nigher the factory, have at Last gott them to Kill & bring some meat, and have sent by your men 3 Deer weigh 250 lb. Venison, I made bold to give the Inds. 3 qts. Brandy as Encouragement to bring more, so hope you will give them none nor Let them Stay nigh you &c. I am

Your Very Humble Servt.

York fort
April 9 1747

James Isham

the 11

SATURDAY Wind Variable untill then a fresh breass at S.Et.b.Et. & raw cold weather, sent the following Letter to the Capts.

Gentlemen

Having consider'd your Letter's concerning Indians, to procure fresh provisions for your ship's companie's when season comes I propose to Send 3 Indn. men & 2 women for to Kill, pick, clean geese &c. with a skin tent to tent by mr. frost, for to procure you what they can; & if you Like of itt, to give unto mr. frost, powder, shott, tobacco, for him to Serve such out, Receive the produc't & to Deleiver such according to order's I have gave him for the perpose I hope to the Satisfaction of you both, it's suffitient to give them one gallon Indn. Brandy soon after they come, or before any game is to be had, & no more tell the Season is Done, if you imagine to have any Benefitt by them mr. Frost by my order's will take care of them, send them a hunting &c. provisor provisor they are [not] inturrupted by your men, & think itt Very Requisit for you to give your men a caution of such as itt nearly concern's them; these Inds. I shall send as soon as they come in which will be in

APPENDIX A

301

a Small time & if I have any more chance to come to hunt than what I already Know of, I may then be able to spare more assistance but not otherwise. I am Gentlemen,

Yr. Very humble Servt.

York fort

James Isham

April 11 1747

I had no sooner sent this but I receivd. the following from Ct. smith

Sr.

" I receivd. the favor of the shott & the Very great favor " of 250 lb. of Venison, the Inds. did not come nigh me, but if " they had shou'd have Sent them from my ship, agreeable to " your request. I thank you for the Encouragemt. mention'd " to be gave which or any other you will think proper I shall " readily answer. we have a perticular piece of new's here, " while I was at the factory, mr. Ellis entertain'd my cabin Boy " will in his Cabin, & Endeavoured to prevail with him to take " & bring to him my first mate's & my Clerk's papers, for " which at that time he had a convenient opportunity the " Boy did not deny the thing but Excus'd himself as to their " being another person in the way, Elli's engaged the Boy to " secrecy gave him ginger bread which with great industry he " had made some Day's before, and Dismissed him, it's but a " few day's since the Boy discover'd this, which mr. Elli's " can not Deny neither doe's he, I send by the Barrer some " flower please to Let manson¹ Bake,

I am Your obligd. freind & Servant

April 11 1747

francis Smith

and at noon Rec'd by my man a answer to my Letter from Ct. Smith

Sr.

" I receivd. your's & Return you thank's for the people

¹ A. 11/114, fo. 126d., names James Manson, steward, at York Factory at this time.

1747
April

" whom you propose to serve us with, and shall be glad if you
 " have further opportunity of an addition, I shall with respect
 " to these when they arrive punctually observe what you say,
 " Sensible how much it's our interest.

I am Your much oblig'd. Servant
 from on board the francis Smith.
Callifornia April 11 1747

15

May
the 5th

WEDNESDY. Little wind at N.N.Wt. & moderate this morning one of Ct. moor's men Died, of the Scurvy at the Same time Sent 3 Indn. men & 2 women for to procure the 2 ship's companies fresh provision's &c.

TUESDAY a fresh gale at N.N.Wt. with snow & drift & sharpe weather, at Noon Recd. the following by one of my men who call'd at 10 shilling creek to Know who our Neighbour's did &c.

Govr. Isham

Sir,

" I am glad to hear the good state of Health you all injoy at York fort, which pray god continue itt, as for my Self I am indifferent but Mr. Thompson & Severall of the people is but in a Very poor way to all apperangs, Yet I am in hopes of a change if weather comes soon the most of them will Recover. my Service to your mess & beleive me to be, Sir on board of the Your most Obedient Hble. Servant Dobb's May the 5th 1747 William Moor

P.S. Our continual wishes here is for a S.Wt. wind.

the 18th

MONDAY Little wind & clear sharpe weather at N.Et. sent my Surgeon & 4 hands with the following Letter's to the Capts. of the Discovery Ships, Vizt.

To Ct. Moor,
Sr.

York fort May the 18 1747

In mine of the 20 Novr. I mention'd for those toggy's to be return'd on the it may Ensuing but observing the cold

weather we was Likely to have, Refer'd itt, therefore as the hard Season is now over for this Year, I desire you wou'd please to return the Said toggy's mention'd on the 20 Novr. by my officer wch. if not Damagd. he will Return your Receipt wch. will be a Discharge for the Same. I am Sr.

Your Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

P.S. Numbr. 24 wth. one mr. Elliss had afterwards

To Ct. Smith
Sr.

York fort May 18 1747

In mine of the 20th Novr. I mention'd for those toggy's to be Return'd on the 1t may Ensuing, but observg. the cold weather we was Likely to have, Refer'd itt, therefore as the hard Season is now over, for this Year, I Desire you wou'd please to Return the Said toggy's mention'd on the 20th Novr. by my officer, which if not Damagd. he will return your Receipt wch. will be a Discharge for the Same. I am Sr.

Your Very Humble Servt.

James Isham

P.S. Number 18 wth. 2 having Recd. before

at Noon my Surgeon Return'd with. all the toggy's and the following Letter's.

Sr.

" In answer to your's this Day wherein you Demand the " 24 toggy's, I now assure you I Designd. to have sent them " home tomorrow, & returnd. thanks, but now acknowledge " itt a particular favour done my men, I am

Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

On board the *Dobb's Galley* William Moor.
May the 24 (i.e.) the 18 1747

Sir

" I sent by Dr. Brady Seventeen toggy's being all I had " here, which with three that went down with mosses¹ at the

¹ Moses Wing. See p. 285.

1747
May

" time he came to the factory makes up twenty, the Number I
 " at first Rec'd as I Believe you will be sensible on Recollection,
 " but untill you was have Left the Rect. with Dr. Brady, my
 " obligation to you for the service they have been to the people
 " is Very great, and as the season is now over they are of no
 " further use. I am

Your Very Humble servt.

from on board the

Francis Smith

Callifornia may 18 1747

19th

TUESDAY blow'd a fresh gale at Et.N.Et. & cloudy raw cold weather; the ships boats made 2 trips below wth. Goods &c. & Ct. moor calld. here askd. me for one my Long boats, when I told him I cou'd not Spare one. (20) a hard gale at Et.b.N. & cloudy cold weather with Rain at times. the ships boats went below wth. goods &c. in ordr. to Lighten their ship's, they wanting 8 or 9 inches water of fleting. Ct. Smith call'd here Returnd. him his Receipt.

[20th]

THURSDAY wind & weather as Yesterdy. mr. Elliss went below then call'd here, Brought a Dish of fish as a prest. from Ct. Moor informd. me by some accident a New Cabel was cutt in Several places, which has Laid upon the ope'n Beech all the winter he intimate's as much as some of the factory men had Done itt, but as I am sensible none of our men has been that way a considerable time cou'd not be guilty of such a Vile acction as the Said Elliss Say's its fresh cutt. Ct. Smith's Boats went below with goods &c. Close gates in order to Seperate the ships company from the factory men, otherwise cou'd not keep our men sober & at their work &c. (22) Little wind at N.Et. & Cold weather at Noon I Recd. the following note from one of my men who is at the Goose tent which plainly show's that mr. Elliss Suspition of our cutting their [cable] was false

Sr.

I hope no offence in informing you who cut the cable, I am inform'd that Quiquak's Little girl did it when they pitcht

from the factory * for goose hunting, the old woman's Boy see 1747
 her do it and bid her Lit itt alone, or else she had Cutt itt more. May
 he says, for they was at play thier when he was going wth. his
 Brother, at Robison's Cully, I havn't Said nothing to any one
 about itt but you, nor shan't dont think proper of it. I did it
 to clear our people of the fault for I believe they think some of
 us Did it. god forbid any of us shoud be guilty of such a
 Wicket acction as that.

* the Inds.
 pitch't
 Aprill
 the 20th

Sr. I Remain Your Humble & obedient Servant
 May 22d 1747 John Hugh's
 Vera Copia

SATURDAY Little wind at N.N.Et. & moderate weather, 23
 Ct. Moor's Long boate¹ which has been Lengthen'd &
 Deckd. went below & all their Boats with Goods &c. calld.
 here carried Brandy & Butter up to the ships &c.

(24) all the boats went below with goods.

(25) all the boats went Loadd. below & Returnd.

FRIDAY Squawly weather at N.Wt. & cloudy sharpe [24th]
 weather for the time, the ships has fleted & gott to the [25th]
 Enterance of the creek, but can not come Downe for want of
 water;

MONDAY hard Squawls at N.Wt. with Raine & Sleet, June
 Ct. Moor's Long boate & pennis went below, the pennis
 calld. here in Landing stove their boat, Repaird. itt for them
 wn. they carried up provisions, (3d) Little wind & foggy; [3]
 wind NE. & Et.NEt. the ships warpd. over to the North
 Channel & this morning Recd. the followg. from Ct. Moor.

Govr. Isham

Sir

" We have but with some Difficulty now gott the ship in a
 " fair way for getting down the River, the Lent of Your
 " boate wou'd be still Very Servicable to us, But that is a thing

¹ Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*, p. 208, "... The RESOLUTION (for that was the Name we bestowed upon our Long-Boat, when lengthened) was now completely finished, so that we launched her on the 10th [May, 1747] ...".

1747
June

" I can not hope for after so many Denials, nevertheless you
 " cou'd yet mightily oblige me, if you wou'd spare me for this
 " Day the Sloops Largest anchor, all possable care shall be taken
 " of itt & immeadiately Return'd, this will in the mean time
 " in some measure compentiate the want of a Long boate,

I am Your Very Humble Servt.

on board the *Dobbs*

Wednesdy. morng. 3 oclock

Wm. Moor

When I Lent the Said anchor as Desird.

the 8th

MONDAY Little wind & Variable with fine weather, at tide time the *California* came down the River & Brought up $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above the fort, the *Dobbs* also warp'd over to the North shore 4 miles above the fort; one man on Each side of the River to Keep the Inds. from going on board.

the 9th

TUESDAY Wind at SWt. & fine weather untill 3 afternoon then a fresh gale at Et.N.Et. with Raine at times, the forenoon the *California* & *Dobbs* weighd. the former moor'd $\frac{1}{2}$ mile below the fort the Latter over against the fort. (10) Little wind & Variable fine weather, the 2 ships companies getting their provisions &c. on board, (11) they began to open the whole where their Beer has Layd. as the Year.

the 12

FRIDAY a hard Gale at ENEt. with Raine at times, Ct. smith Brought the Ruther of his ship up to repair itt, not being fitt to go to sea with, Gave him timber to Repair itt. one man constt. at the Gate to prevent the ships men & factory men being togeather, (13) a Very hard gale at N. with Raine & Raging tides, (15) the ship's company took on board Brandy I had in Keeping, Severall a Diding for their Beer & at Noon gott 2 Cask's out wch. proves by acct. Very Good not being froze, (16) Calm untill tide time, then a fine brease at Et. & fine weather, Ct. Moor having importun'd of me a Long boate wch. we have & of Little Service to us, & he being in great Necessity for one Let him have the Said Boate wch.

[13]

[15]

[16]

their Carpenter's are Repairing, itt's to be Noted Ever since the ship's has been Down the River I have had a Watch on the

Rampert & one officer walk the bank & frequently my Self. ¹⁷⁴⁷
 (20) the ships all Ready for Sailing the first opportunity of June
 wind & water. ^[20] (21) wind Variable fine weather.

MONDAY Wind Variable & Very Hott weather at $\frac{1}{2}$ after ^[21]
 6 morning the *Dobbs* weighd. & Saild. for her Voayge, &c.
 Saluted her with 9 Guns, & coullers flying, wch. was Returnd.
 at 10 she moor'd 2 mile below the factory for want of wind and
 Water, at 7 Evening the *California* fird. 7 Guns, answerd. the
 Same at 10 night Rec'd the followg. Letter

To James Isham Esqr. Governor of York fort in Hayes River
 near Hudsons Bay

" By Virtue of a commission under the Great Seal of the
 " High Court of Admiralty of Engl'd Given to me the tenth
 " Day of may one thousand seven Hundred and forty Six
 " which commission is shewn to you at the time of the
 " Deleivery hereof! I Require & Demand that you
 " immeadiately assist me with Sixteen Gallons of mollosses, I
 " being in necessity for Such a Quantity, for the Better
 " Subsisting and the preservation of the Health of my people,
 " and on Deleivering me such Quantity of mollosses, as
 " aforesaid will persuant to a Letter of credit Intetuleing me so
 " to do, Give you a Bill of Exchange, or note for the price,
 " you shall put on Such mollosses, on the Committee of the
 " North west Company [Committee], Dated 22d June 1747.

Francis Smith Commander of the
California a Private man of war,
 Now being in Hayes River

When I sent the following Answer

Sr.

In answer to your first Letter¹ I have not been able to write
 this 4 Day's past, on account of the Lameness of my hand,
 I have now sent you a cannister of tea Such as I have.

¹ This letter has not been traced. No mention is made of this correspondence in the log of the *California*.

1747
June

Now as to your second Letter wch. intimates an an Authority by your commission &c. are not you Sensible you importun'd before for the said Goods, (Vezt. mollosses) when you had some other merchandize Goods of me, & I positively acquainted you itt was not in my power to serve you in the Same unless, Leaving the factory Destitude, therefore am Surprizd you shou'd mention or Desire such now, if wind shoud not favour I hope you will both Send men to fill the hole up where the Beer was.

Sr. I am wishing you all a Good Voayge
Your Very Humble Servt.

11 at Night

James Isham

23d

TUESDY. Blow'd hard at times, a Wt. & WSWt. tell 6 Evening then a fresh gale at N.E. at 6 this morng. mr. Elliss Brought 2 packets to be sent to Engld. at the same time the *Dobbs Galley* and the *Callifornia* weigh'd anchor & Saild, & at 9 came to an anchor in 5 fathom hole, sent a Boat with 100 lb. of Mollosses to Ct. Smith, at noon Return'd Brought a packet from the Said Ct. for to be sent to England.

24th

WEDNESDY. a fine brease at Wt.NWt. tell noon then Squawly, with Raine at times, at 6 this morning the ships weighd. & saild from 5 fathom hole, & at 11 bore NEt. b. N. from the factory when we Lost sight of them.

FINIS

APPENDIX B

INDIANS

Extract from "Observations on Hudson's Bay"
[by Andrew Graham, 1775]¹

Having now mentioned the manners and customs of the Natives in order to give a general view of their Simplicity, I come next to speak of their connection with Europeans in Trade, but it would perhaps be satisfactory to enumerate the various Nations and Tribes who resort to the Settlements belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, & especially what part of America is the usual residence of each. I shall begin with the Keiskatchewan² Natives, as they are the chief contributors to the Company's Trade.

At the time the English first settled in Hudson's Bay different Tribes of this Nation inhabited the Country from the Sea Coast up to the Lakes, but either to avoid Europeans or in order to search for furs to barter or because food grew scarce by the large Number of Animals destroyed for the Skins, one or more of these reasons has caused them gradually to retire

¹ E. 2/10, pp. 121-5. This is one of several volumes of "Observations on Hudson's Bay" written by Andrew Graham between the years 1768 and 1775. He joined the Company's service in 1752 as a writer and later rose to be chief at Severn, York, and Prince of Wales's Forts. He retired in 1775.

² I.e., Saskatchewan. They would be Plains Crees and Wood or Swampy Crees. See E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (Norwood, Mass., 1928), Vol. XVIII, and Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65; 1932), Map 270A, "Aborigines of Canada... about 1725, A.D.". Cf. *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1749), pp. 243-8, for the alignment of the tribes of the plains as given by Joseph la France. This alignment is shown on the map of the "... Western Rivers & Lakes falling into Nelson River in Hudson's Bay as described By Joseph La France ..." which is appended to Dobbs. *Remarks Upon Capt. Middleton's Defence*. See also p. 315, n. 1.

farther inland, until they come amongst the Buffalo, and they now extend from the head of York fort and Nelson rivers to Musquagamy or Red rivers at the bottom of Christianaux Lake,¹ but a remnant remain'd about the Factories and at present constitute what we call the Home-guard Indians who are become dependant on the English and retain'd by them to procure provisions and perform any other Services, and though extreamly debilitated and depraved from their Ancestors yet the language has undergone no alteration.

This Nation is very numerous and divided into many Tribes; a very small portion come down to Trade, rarely exceeding 200 Canoes to York Fort and 60 to Churchill, which are the Settlements visited by them, since they have inhabited the Buffalo Country, where provisions are so plentiful, that they neglected trapping and catching Furrs, but barter at a great advantage a portion of the goods purchased at the factories with the Archithenue and Assinee-poet Indians. With these Skins they come down annually to the English settlements, and as only so small a number undertake the Voyage, the others who remain Inland send their Goods with any of their Acquaintances, so that the loading a Canoe may be the property of many families, whereas were they all to exert themselves and come down to Trade it would thereby be immensely increased, but having plenty of food they have no ambition or desire of obtaining more than is sufficient for the simplicity of their way of Life. Tobacco, Ammunition Knives and Hatchets are the principle useful Articles consequently any thing more than is necessary would be Superfluous and Burthensome.

Assinee poet Nation²

This Nation is more powerful and Numerous than the preceeding and inhabits an extreme tract of land to the South and Westward of Christianaux Lake, They are divided into many Tribes and for Strength and Valour and sound

¹ I.e., Lake Winnipeg.

² Assiniboines or Stonies. They speak the Siouan language. See Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, pp. 19, 308-16.

constitution are not to be surpass'd by any other Nation. Their Language is quite different from the Keishatchewan or Naketheway tongue. They catch their own Furrs and are the richest Indians that come down to the factories. It is a pity a greater number could not be induc'd to make the Voyage, only 45 Canoes coming to York Fort and 12 to Churchlll annually and no where else, as their Country abounds with Beaver, the Skins of those Animals are the chief article they bring down but it is in greater perfection than that of any other Indians. War is their delight and the Archithenues the objects of their inveterate enmity, from these poor creatures they take the fine Horses¹ so frequent amongst them and which serve to convey their baggage about the Country. One Observation is worthy of remark in these people who different from other Indians always wear their hair long never cutting it, both Men and Women tying it up in clubs very neatly.

Wechepowuck Nation²

These Indians were intirely unknown to Europeans 'till the beginning of this present Century, When the Hudson's Bay Company sent a person³ into the Country wth. presents, and

¹ T.R.S.C., 1907, Burpee, "York Factory to the Blackfeet Country. The Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754-55", p. 334, n. 3, "...Hendry's journal would indicate that the horse had already become, in 1754, the indispensable companion of the Indian of the plains. Yet it is clear from La Vérendrye's Journal of the Expedition to the Mandans (p. 13, Canadian Archives Report, 1889) that horses were not in use among the Assiniboines in 1738-39, at any rate among those who inhabited the country between the Assiniboine and the Missouri. It would appear that the horse, introduced into America by the Spaniards, was first adopted by the tribes of the Southwest, its use gradually spreading north to the Missouri. There the Blackfeet no doubt first acquired them. From the Blackfeet they were introduced among the western Assiniboines, and finally reached their kinsmen in the Red River country. See Dr. Bain's footnote to p. 295 of Henry's 'Travels'".

² Chipewyans. See Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, pp. 385-8.

³ This must be a reference 'o William Stewart, who was the first European to cross the Barren Grounds. For an outline of the journey he made from York Fort during 1715-16 see Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, pp. 52-6, or Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 131-3. Samuel Hearne was the second

an Invitation down to the Fort. They inhabit that large unknown tract of Land to the N.W. of Churchill river to which place they bring their goods never visiting any other factory because the distance would be increas'd, some of them are retained at the Factory and compose some of the Churchill Home-Guard; others come in with furrs in Spring and Autumn whilst the farthest Tribes arrive only once in 3 Years. They are strong able people, three black strokes down each Cheek, always drest in Dee'r Skins, drink no manner of Spiritous Liquors, and barter their Skins only for necessaries such as Ammunition, Iron and Cutlery wares, never purchasing much Cloth, Bead, or any other superfluous Articles. Their Snow Shoes are like the Gallies described before only the inside part of the frame is in a streight line. Their Canoes only hold one person. The Rivers that Water their Country have no communication with Churchill river for which reason it reduces them to the necessity of bringing their bundles on their Backs and their Dogs are loaded like packhorses, They have a language¹ peculiar to themselves, and we have few Europeans that can hold a conversation with them. Before their intercourse with the English they were pursued by Enemies by the Keiskatchewan Indians, as they themselves pursu'd the Esquemaux, who border on the North and East coasts of the Bay, but by the interposition of the Chief at Churchill, their animosities are almost subsided and they are brought to smoak a pipe together, or at least to avoid destroying each other as formerly.

Archithenue Nation²

These Indians posses an extensive Country beyond that of the Assineépoets to the Southward and Westward. They have

European to cross the Barren Grounds. See Tyrrell, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean . . . 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772.*

¹ Athapaskan.

² T.R.S.C., 1907, Burpee, "York Factory to the Blackfeet Country. The Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754-55", p. 316, "Three days after crossing

plenty of Buffalo and never eat Beaver flesh, or Fish have no Water Carriage and know nothing about manageing a Canoe, some Englishmen have been sent amongst them to induce them to come down to the Forts, but they answer'd they lived very well, knew not how to manage a Canoe nor were willing to undergo the inconveniences of such a journey however one or two had the curiosity to come to York Fort, but never repeated the visit. Those who live on the frontures of the Assineépoets Country abide in Tents but as wood is scarce, they carry the poles about with them and use the dung of the Buffalo for fireing.

They cultivate a wild Species of Tobacco which they are fond of Smoaking. They are expert hunters and procure many

the Red Deer, Hendry arrived at a large camp of Archithinue Indians. The name occurs repeatedly in his narrative, and one of the chief objects of his journey seems to have been to get in touch with this tribe and induce them to bring furs down to York Factory. It would be impossible to identify the tribe with any degree of certainty were it not that Cocking [see *T.R.S.C.*, 1908, pp. 89-121, L. J. Burpee (ed.), "An Adventurer from Hudson Bay. Journal of Matthew Cocking, from York Factory to the Blackfeet Country, 1772-73"] supplies the key. He, too, visited the Archithinues, and in his Journal, under date of December 1st, 1772, he says; 'This tribe is named Powestic-Athinuewuck (i.e.) Water-fall Indians. There are four Tribes or Nations more, which are all Equestrian Indians, viz.: Mithco-Athinuwuck or Bloody Indians, Koskitow-Wathesitock or Blackfooted Indians, Pegonow or Muddy-water Indians, and Sassewuck or Woody Country Indians.' The Archithinue Indians whom Hendry visited, and of whom he gives an exceedingly interesting account, were, therefore, Blackfeet." Cf. *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, No. 1, C. Wissler, "Population Changes among the Northern Plains Indians", The Blackfoot Group, p. 5, ". . . note should be taken of the statements of Burpee, the editor of the journals left by Hendry and Cocking. According to him, Hendry and Cocking met Blackfoot Indians after they crossed the South Saskatchewan. However, Cocking states that the Indians he met were Waterfall Indians, one of the early names for Gros Ventre. There can be no reasonable doubt as to the correctness of this identification. In a future publication we expect to present the evidence in full, not only to confirm Cocking's statement, but to make it reasonably certain that Hendry met the same Indians in 1754. . . ." Dr. Regina Flannery, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., has informed the editor that she was in correspondence with Dr. Wissler on the subject of the Gros-Ventres-Blackfoot identification (and had arrived at the same conclusion) just before his death. He had not published the details.

Furrs which they exchange at a dear rate with the Keiskatchewan Indians for Guns, hatchets &c. There are others¹ far more to the Southward, who live in little houses made of logs, and as their habitations are fixed, they cultivate the wild rice and corn in little spots of Ground, but unhappily for them, they frequently fall a prey to the wanton and provok'd Slaughter not only of the Keiskatchewan and Assineé poets but also from a Neighbouring Tribe who Native barbarity is equally destructive to the Archithenues. We have advice of other Nations beyond these but as they contribute nothing to the Trade of Hudson's Bay and the accounts of them are very imperfect and dissatisfactory I shall mention nothing more of them.

We are inform'd by one John Cole² a Canadian trader that the above Archithenues are Natives of the Mississipi River, and at certain Seasons make excursions to the Meadows³ where they are surpris'd by the Keiskatchewan's.

Nakawawuck Nation⁴

These inhabit the Country from about 100 miles from the Sea Coast of Hudson's Bay South and Easterly into the great Lake of Christianaux which they never cross. Their Language is in a great measure the same with that of the Keiskatchewan's, but differs from it in some words and pronunciation, like the high and low dutch, and is used almost universally down the

¹ Mandans. See Curtis, *North American Indian*, V, 3-55.

² See Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 282-4, 286, 287, 311, 322, 325.

³ I.e., prairies.

⁴ See pp. 112-191. These Indians were presumably Ojibwa, a branch of the Algonkian family. Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, p. 26, "The most musical of all the Indian languages was Algonkian, owing to its richness in vowel sounds and its avoidance of the harsher consonants. It had a fondness for whispered syllables, *h* and a voiceless *w* (like *wh* in *while*) occurring very commonly as terminations; glottal stops between vowels, though not uncommon, were never stressed, and there were few of the glottalized consonants (i.e., consonants pronounced with a momentary stopping of the breath) that were so frequent in other Indian languages..."

Bay and no wonder since these Natives compose the Trade of Moose and Albany Forts with the subordinate Settlements of Henly and Severn and contribute a small matter towards York Fort, but none ever visit Churchill river. It is my opinion that these people have drawn up to the Northward gradually as the Keiskatchewan's receeded from it, towards the Southwest. These Natives as far as it is known to us is not so numerous as the others. They catch their own Furrs which consist of various Species all in the greatest perfection.

The above John Cole informs us that the several Tribes of Makawawuck or Attawawa Indians extend as far as the Cherokee Country and are frequently at war with those Natives.

Oupeshepow Nation¹

These Natives frequent the Eastern Coasts of Hudson's Bay, from Ruperts river Eastward to Whale river. Their Country lying convenient for the Canadian Settlements, very few come down to the Company's Factories, They compose the Trade of Eastmain house, and give a little assistance to Moose River, They are pretty numerous to the South East and were the first people who saw Europeans in the Bay and we have heard them relate the arrival of the first Ships as deliver'd to them by the tradition of their ancestors. Their Language differs in some few words and the pronounciation from the Keiskatchewan and the Nakawawuck.

NB. Each of these Nations are divided in a great many

¹ Crees. Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, pp. 283-4, "Like the Ojibwa . . . they occupied an immense area of country. On the north they were bounded by the coast-line from Eastmain river nearly to Churchill ; on the east by lakes Mistassini and Nichikun. Their western limits are uncertain, but in the early sixteenth century they appear to have wandered over part of the country west of lake Winnipeg, perhaps between the Red river and the Saskatchewan. As soon as they obtained firearms from Hudson Bay, however, they expanded westward and northward, so that by the middle of the eighteenth century they controlled northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan as far as Churchill river, all northern Alberta, the valley of Slave river, and the southeastern part of Great Slave lake . . .".

Tribes: Such of them as come down to the Factories in Hudson's Bay I shall enumerate under their proper heads in the following manner.

A view of the various Nations and their Tribes which constitute towards the Fur-trade in Hudson's Bay.

<i>Nations</i>	<i>Tribes</i>	<i>To what Fort they resort</i>
Weechepowack.	Ateem Uspeki Mith co coman Wee chip y an i wuck	Churchill. Churchill. Churchill.
	Pegog eme ou Mus cus is cau	York Fort. York Fort and Churchill.
	Omisk a sepe	York Fort and Churchill.
	Athup pe scau	York Fort and Churchill.
	Poethinicau Pena say witchewan	York Fort. York Fort.
Keiskatchewan.	Washe ho Sepe Musce ko uck Mis se ne pe Waske su sepe Peme chic emeou Nemeou Chuckitanau We wune to uc Ka stich e wan	Severn. Churchill, York Fort and Severn. York Fort and Churchill. York Fort and Churchill. York Fort and Churchill. York Fort. York Fort. York Fort and Churchill. Albany Fort.

APPENDIX B

317

<i>Nations</i>	<i>Tribes</i>	<i>To what Fort they resort</i>
Assinee poet.	Me kis sue	York Fort and Churchill.
	Me ke po etuc	York Fort and Churchill.
	Kano bic a poet	York Fort and Churchill.
Naka we wuck, or Attawawa.	Nama kou sepe	Severn.
	Waupus	Albany and Severn.
	Christianaux	Moose River, Albany and Severn.
	Win nes cau sepe	Albany and Severn.
	Ougebouy	Albany.
	Mistahay suckahagan	Albany, Severn and York Fort.
	Mith quagameou sepe	Albany.
	Shu mattaway	York Fort, Albany and Severn.
Ou pe she pow.	Wine pesk ko wuck.	East Main and Moose River.
	Moose waw sepe.	Moose River.

APPENDIX C

BIOGRAPHICAL

Isham, James

James Isham, born about 1716, was a son of Whitby Isham and Ann Skrimshire, both of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, who were married at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, on May 10, 1709 (W. H. Hunt (ed.), *The Registers of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London*, (London, The Harleian Society, 1907) and A. 1/122, p. 244). On May 11, 1732, the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote to Thomas Macklish of York Fort: "... Wee have this Year Entertained one James Isham whom wee have sent over to You, to be Employed as a writer and to be instructed in keeping the accounts, and doubt not he will soon be very usefull to You in that respect by your Instructions & assistance, which Wee require may not be wanting and hope he will be Carefull & diligent in observing the same & desire You will write Us a particular acct. of his behaviour ..." (A. 6/5, fo. 58). Isham, whose wages were at the rate of £20 per annum (A. 16/30, fos. 45d.-46), sailed in the Company's ship *Mary* (Captain George Spurrell) and reached York Factory on August 1 (A. 11/114, fos. 64-7). On August 17, 1733, Macklish was able to inform the Governor and Committee that "... as for James Isham Book keeper he is a Very Sober Young Man, and has made very good Improvement, Considering the time he has been here ..." (ibid., fo. 68d.). Isham continued to serve at York Factory and on August 27, 1736, Thomas White, who was then chief there, wrote to the Governor and Committee: "As to James Isham whose Contract ... Expires the next year, he wholly Relyes on your Honours pleasure. I do Assure your Honours he is a very Sober, honest, & Diligent, young man" (ibid., fo. 79). On May 4, 1737, the Governor and Committee appointed Isham to "have the care of the Factory at York Fort, with the Assistance of Mr. Mackduff Surgeon, and Mr. Bricker ..." (A. 1/34), and his salary was raised to £40 per annum (A. 16/31, fo. 16). In 1741 he received a commission as "Chief Factor at Prince of Wales's Fort In Churchill River In Hudsons Bay ..." (A. 6/6, fos. 108d.-109), and, "in order to Excite him to a Diligent and faithfull discharge of his Duty", his salary was advanced to £60 per annum to commence with his arrival at Churchill River (A. 1/35, pp. 154, 156). Isham left York in the *Churchill* sloop

and arrived at Prince of Wales's Fort on August 16, 1741 (A. 11/114, fo. 104, B. 42/a/23). On his arrival he found two strange ships in Churchill River. They were H.M.S. *Furnace* (Captain Christopher Middleton) and the *Discovery* pink (Captain William Moor) which had entered the river on August 8. These ships were on a Government sponsored expedition in search of the North West Passage and Middleton and his colleagues had decided to winter in Churchill River before making the attempt (see pp. 331-2). Their presence was an embarrassment to Isham but, according to instructions issued by the Governor and Committee (C. Middleton, *A Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs, Esq.* . . . (London, 1744), Appendix, p. 8, and other printed sources), Isham gave them "the best Assistance" in his power. From the journal kept at Prince of Wales's Fort during 1741-42 (B. 42/a/23) it appears that the relations between Isham and the expedition personnel were, on the whole, fairly good, although Isham did complain that Middleton tried to "Allure" some of the Company's men to enter His Majesty's service, a "Snare" into which, in Isham's opinion, no one in his "right Senses" would enter (*ibid.*, April 19, 1742). But Isham was more outspoken in July, 1742, when he informed the Governor and Committee of the events of the preceding winter and remarked that Middleton had been "a Very Troublesome Guess [sic]" (A. 11/13, fo. 76). On June 30, 1742, the ships, which Isham prayed "God Send Safe", "Set Sail for their Voiage" and the Company was left once more in sole possession in Churchill River. Isham continued in charge at Prince of Wales's Fort, but during trading season 1742-43 he suffered much from ill health. From December 23, 1742, until February 1, 1743, he was confined to the fort which he found "a Dismal House for a Sick man, by the Continual Smoak Occasioned by the Chimneys, having Tryed Several Remedies but no cure for them" (B. 42/a/24, January 21, 1743). It was apparently during this period of confinement that he wrote his "Observations on Hudsons Bay". On August 8, 1743, Isham wrote to the Governor and Committee applying for leave to return to England on account of ill health, adding that notwithstanding the "Small Distance" between York Fort and Churchill the latter place did not agree with him (A. 11/13, fo. 82). The Committee replied in 1744 hoping that his health had improved and wishing him to continue for three years longer. For his "Encouragement" they raised his salary to £80 per annum (A. 6/7, fo. 45). But Isham only remained for one year and was welcomed home by the Committee on September 30, 1745 (A. 1/36). On February 7, 1746, he was appointed "Chief at York Fort during pleasure" at a

salary of £80 per annum (A. 1/37), and in the following May he sailed in the Company's ship *Prince Rupert* (Captain George Spurrell), one of four bound for Hudson Bay in 1746. They were accompanied on part of the voyage (see p. 203) by the *Dobbs-Galley* (Captain William Moor) and the *California* (Captain Francis Smith) which had been outfitted by public subscription for a search for the North West Passage (see Introduction, p. lxxx). Isham had an uneventful voyage, but he had scarcely settled at York Fort before the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* arrived. Their captains had decided to winter in Hayes River before making an attempt to discover the Passage. The events of the winter of 1746–47 and the difficulties with which Isham had to contend are outlined in his journal (B. 239/a/29) printed in Appendix A. Of the two accounts published by members of the expedition John Barrow in *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions . . .* (London, 1818), p. 287, remarked: "... one by Mr. Ellis [*Voyage to Hudson's-Bay . . .*], a plain, unaffected, intelligible narrative; the other [*Account of a Voyage . . .*] by 'the Clerk of the *California*', whose name was Drage, a pedantic disputatious, dogmatical performance". Both authors put Isham's attempts to persuade the ships not to winter in Hayes River in the worst light. The help given by the Company's men was ignored by Ellis, but the Clerk of the *California* at least acknowledged Isham's contributions to the solution of the problems of the winter. Isham's comments on parts of Ellis' book are on p. 199 et seq. Isham continued in charge at York Fort for another season. On May 5, 1748, the Governor and Committee wrote to him: "... As there are Several things which we have Occasion to Conferr with you upon, we have thought proper to recall you and have Appointed Captain John Newton our Cheif at York Fort . . ." (A. 6/7, fo. 139d.). Isham accordingly returned to England in the *Prince Rupert* (Captain George Spurrell) and was welcomed by the Committee on October 8, 1748 (A. 11/114, fo. 128d., and A. 1/37, p. 326). His help was required in London on account of the attacks being made by Arthur Dobbs and his supporters on the Company's charter. After the return of the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* from their unsuccessful expedition, Dobbs and his associates had tried to obtain a charter of their own, granting "the like Priviledges and Royalties" as had been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company. By the time Isham arrived they had learnt of their failure before the Privy Council and were busy obtaining public support in order to get a more favourable decision from the House of Commons. Publicity was used and petitions were circulated to move the House to action. This activity resulted in the House appointing on March 9, 1749, a Select

Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Strange "to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the Trade carried on there". The evidence given before the Committee was ordered to be printed on April 24, and on May 4, when the House of Commons sat as a Committee of the Whole to consider the report, Isham and other servants of the Company gave evidence. On May 8 a motion was made for an address to His Majesty that he would be pleased to have a proper method taken to try the right claimed by the Company to exercise an exclusive trade under the charter, but the motion was lost and Dobbs took the vote as decisive (see Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 217-25). Within a few days of arriving in London, on October 29, 1748, Isham obtained a licence from the Bishop of London's Registry to marry Catherine Mindham, spinster, aged twenty-one years, of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. At the time he was described as a bachelor, aged thirty-two years (London, Society of Genealogists). During the time Isham was in London he apparently lived at No. 11 Bennet Street, near Storey's Gate, Westminster (A. 6/7, fo. 147), and he was in touch with George Edwards who, in Part III of his *Natural History of Uncommon Birds...* (p. 107) paid tribute to his (Isham's) "commendable Curiosity" concerning everything to do with Hudson Bay (see p. 119, n. 2, and *The Beaver*, December, 1946, J. L. Baillie, Jnr., "Naturalists on Hudson Bay", pp. 36-9). On December 20, 1749, the Committee read a draft contract with "Mr. Isham to serve the Company for three Years in Hudsons Bay at £80 p. Annum" (A. 1/38) and on January 4, 1750, the contract was duly executed (*ibid.*). On May 21 Isham was informed that he was to be a member of Captain Newton's council at York Factory and, "Apprehensive That the Bristol & Liverpool Merchts. in Conjunction with some Londoners that Attacked the Company in Parliament" were to make a settlement in Hudson Bay (A. 6/8, fo. 44), the Governor and Committee added: "Having last year given directions to our Chief and Council at York Fort that a Factory house should be Built on Hayes Island opposite Flambrohead agreeable to the Description we then gave thereof, and as the Design of Building such House was to Guard against the Attempts we heard were to be made by some persons to Intercept or destroy Our Trade either in Hayes or Nelsons Rivers by forcing their way above Our Factory and settling on our Lands between that & Flambrohead whereby they might be enabled to stop the Indians and Trade with them before they could reach our Factory at York Fort and as we are well acquainted with your knowledge of the Natives their Language as also the Nature of Our Trade and having Confidence that

you will exert yourself in the Defence of our Rights & property should the same be Invaded therefore we have thought proper to appoint you Master of the said Flambro House (under the Direction of Capt. John Newton whose orders you are to follow) wherefore on your Arrival at York Fort you are as soon as Mr. Newton can dispatch you to go & take possession of Flambro House we expect you will find the same finished or near so and that you will be diligent in Compleating the same (before Winter sets in) . . ." (A. 6/7, fo. 162d.). Isham sailed for Hudson Bay in the *Prince Rupert* (Captain George Spurrell), and on arrival at York Fort he was obliged to take charge as the chief, John Newton, had been accidentally drowned on June 28, 1750 (A. 11/114, fo. 138d.); but he was not troubled with interlopers. On May 16 of the following year the Governor and Committee informed him: "In Confidence of the good behaviour you promise by Exerting your self in the restoring & Extending our Trade & by defending our Rights & Property should they be Invaded, we do hereby Confirm you our Chief Factor at York Fort, and as in this we have granted your Request do expect in return that you do not harbour or Entertain any Indian Woman or Women in our Factory or permit others under you so to do, and that you be an Example to your people of Sobriety, diligence & whatever else is commendible and praise worthy . . ." (A. 6/7, fo. 170). Amongst the remarks which had been addressed in 1749, by the Governor and Committee to his predecessor, John Newton, Isham found the following: "Wee have discoursed with most of Our Servants that have lived at York Fort of the Nature of the Land and the Scituation &c. to the Northward of the Factory and Wee do find them very Ignorant in most things Especially in knowing the true distances of several places from the Factory and also from one place to another alledging that all the Information they can give us comes from the Indians who widely differ in their Account of Distances or at least our people did not rightly Comprehend them and it is Surprizing to us that none of our Factors or Servants have had the Curiosity of Informing themselves thereof especially of places not far from York Fort . . .". The Committee then went on to request that when Newton could do so "without Neglecting things of more consequence" he was to compile a record of distances in the areas around York Fort (A. 6/8, fos. 45d.-46). Isham apparently undertook the task for on May 12, 1752, the Governor and Committee expressed themselves "well satisfyed" with his "diligence in coming at the certainty of the distances specifyed" in his "Book and draft", and recommended that he should "pursue a further Knowledge thereof when and opportunity presents without breaking into the necessary Business of the Factory"

(*ibid.*, fo. 96d.). On May 24, 1753, the Governor and Committee wrote to Isham: "As you are of opinion that if a proper Person were sent a great way up into the Country with presents to the Indians it may be a means of drawing down many of the Natives to Trade We approve thereof and if you have any Person at your Factory whom you think proper for that purpose and will undertake it you may assure him we will sufficiently reward him for any Service he may do the Company by such a Journey" (*A.* 6/8, fos. 118d.-119). The outcome was the journey made by Anthony Henday (or Hendry), who unsuccessfully attempted to bring the "Earchithinues" down to York Fort to trade (see p. 114, n. 2, and p. 312, n. 2). This was the first of several journeys organised by Isham. During the winter of 1754-55 Isham suffered from "a most Dismal fitt of the Gout" (*A.* 11/114, fo. 191) and on August 13, 1756, he requested leave to return to England, if only for one year, apparently on family business. He complained that his family (presumably his wife and daughter), moved from place to place, putting him "to a great Deal of unnecessary charges" and that he could not afford it (*ibid.*, fo. 192). The Company could not comply with his request "for particular reasons", not stated (*A.* 5/1, fo. 21d.), and on August 18, 1757, Isham wrote: "I have Readily complied with your honours desire of my Staying this year, at the same time it give me some concern (what with the Agonies of the Gout, and Raking pains of the Gravel, gives me much uneasiness, in a part of the world no Relief for the Last,) Besides my child and goods are at Stake, for the want of a Husband & fatherly Assistance, hope your honours will please to consider my faithfull Service and Melancholy Disorders, and Allow me but for one Year" (*A.* 11/115, fo. 7). By the same packet Isham informed the Governor and Committee that he was "Surprized of the Constant Complaint of those Gentlemen of Inticeing the Natives from their Forts, in particular Churchill"; and added: "I want them not; and a Strange thing they cannot keep their Inds. the truth is they are a free people, and will go where they find best usage & not for the Interest of your Honrs., if such Comes for to huff or abuse them If I did I doubt the consequence would be otherwise (go to the French) neither is there any occasion for me to Invite them, they coming fast Enough of their own Accord" (*ibid.*, fo. 9). Isham eventually obtained permission to return to England in 1758 (*A.* 1/5, fo. 25d.) and he sailed in the now "old" *Prince Rupert* (Captain Jonathan Fowler). Whilst he was in London the Committee examined him "Touching the necessity of Building a Factory House and making a New Settlement on Severn River", and on his advice the decision to build was made on February 15, 1759 (*A.* 1/41, fos. 47d., 49d.). On

May 2 Isham applied "to be again Employed in his former Station", and the Company "agreed with him to Serve . . . as a Chief Factor for five Years in Hudsons Bay at £100 p. Annum and £10 a Year for a Servant to Commence from his Arrival at York Fort". He was also allowed Fifteen Guineas to buy fresh provisions for the outward voyage (*ibid.*, fos. 59, 61d.). Isham sailed in the "old" *Prince Rupert* (Captain Jonathan Fowler, senior) and arrived safely at York Fort on August 19, 1759, in spite of her being "a Sad Leaky Ship" (A. 11/115, fo. 23). He reported being well "Except a Little of the Nervious Disorder" (*ibid.*, fo. 41). He added that he had been informed there was a French post up Severn River. In reply he received a rebuke from the Governor and Committee for having been "led and misguided by Indian persuasions" and having been too optimistic about the chances of trade in that area (A. 5/1, fos. 35d.-36). The post was established, however, in the autumn of 1759, and on September 5, 1760, Isham was able to inform the Governor and Committee that "James Fort Severn River, tho in its Infancy" had brought in "2461 $\frac{1}{2}$ Made Beaver Including 1783 Martins" (A. 11/115, fos. 49, 51). In a personal letter to the Governor and Committee of the same date Isham said "am hearty & well Except to Corns on the Bottom of my feet, which I can gett no cure for, & the Gout in the winter as Usual, at which time fevorish . . .", and requested that £40 should be paid to the Company's secretary or clerk "for to pay Quarterly to the Late Cathern. Isham" (*ibid.*, fo. 47-47d.). In reply to this request the Governor and Committee wrote on May 26, 1761: "... We have paid £12. 6. part of your Bill for £40 for your late Wifes use which was all that was required" (A. 5/1, fo. 42). No further reference to Isham's wife and daughter has been traced in the Company's archives. Isham was again ill during the winter of 1760-61. On February 5, 1761, he remarked in his journal (B. 239/a/48): "Sleep Well Last night, got up at nine, made a good Breakfast, found myself clear of pains, still a giddiness in my head but hearty, Smoakt 5 pipes and at 8 went to bed . . .", and on April 5 he wrote: "... Divine service as usual, Extreamly Bad, have not been right well since 16th November, having been troubled With the gout upwards of 20 years, & Growing in years, the Country will not do". For two months Isham complained "of a Weakness & stoppage in his throat", and at 5.15 p.m. on Monday, April 13, 1761, he died (B. 239/a/48 and B. 239/b/21). Andrew Graham recorded in the York Factory journal: "... the day before he Expired he Gave me a Strict order to transact the Company's Business which I shall do, Stedfastly following the Rules of My Late Worthy Master, which Am certain is the only Method to Enlarge Your

Honours trade, I having 8 years Experience under him". On Sunday, April 19, Graham wrote in the York Factory journal: "Divine Service with a Funeral Sermon, Interred our Worthy Master, Supported by Six tradesmen, and Minute Guns Number 21, and Every thing through the Whole Carried on with the greatest Oconomy" (B. 239/a/48). The news of Isham's death reached Humphrey Marten at Fort James, Severn River, on April 27, and he remarked in his journal: "... the York Fort Packet arrived with the Shocking news of the Death of my Beloved Friend and I may truly say Father Mr. James Isham, who paid the Grand debt on the 13th Instant. I cannot help Condoleing the lose of a Man who was the Idol of the Indians, and whose name will be dear to them as long as one is alive that knew him . . ." (B. 198/a/2). By his will dated February 16, 1760, Isham bequeathed all his property to Charles Isham who, it appears, was his half-breed son. As Charles Isham was under age, John Price, at one time surgeon at York Fort (A. 11/114, fo. 196d.), was appointed sole executor and "faithfull Trustee", but he declined to act, so power of administration was granted on January 14, 1763, by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to Thomas Isham, "lawfull Bror. of the Deed. and a Creditor" (A. 44/1, p. 40, and London, Somerset House, Caesar 68). On May 31, 1763, the Governor and Committee requested Ferdinand Jacobs, chief at York Fort, to "send Home Charles Price alias Isham an Indian Lad said to be the Natural Son of Mr. James Isham Deceased together with all his Cloaths or Apparrel" (A. 6/10, fo. 56); and on November 17 following they "Ordered that Charles Price, now returned from York Fort by the King George [Captain Joseph Spurrell], who was Servant to Mr. James Isham deceas., be delivered to the said Mr. Isham's Brother administrator Mr. Thomas Isham. Also Ordered that Mr. James Isham's Effects which remain in the Company's House, be likewise delivered to the said Mr. Thomas Isham" (A. 1/42, fo. 91d.). A week later all Isham's monies remaining in the Company's hands were paid to Thomas Isham (A. 16/32). In May, 1766, Charles Price Isham returned to Rupert's Land as an apprentice for seven years. He served the Company until 1814 and, like his father, was loved and respected by the Indians. References have also been found in the Company's archives to Ann, sister of James Isham.

Middleton, Christopher

According to Middleton himself, he served "in several Letter of Marque Ships in Queen Anne's War [1702-14]" at his "first setting out as a Sailor", and spent many years "on the Coasts of both New and

"Old Spain" before he joined the service of the Hudson's Bay Company (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 108). He entered the Company's employ at least as early as 1721, and in the spring of that year sailed to York Factory as second mate of the Company's frigate *Hannah* (Captain Ingram Gofton). On September 4, 1721, the entry in the York Factory journal (B. 239/a/6) recorded: "... Called a Councell the [Whalebone] Sloops men all being resolved to go home Wee agreed with Mr. Middleton, Capt. Goftons 2d Mate to Stay Mr. [John] Scroggs being resolved to Carry his Mate no farther . . .". A week later the *Whalebone* sailed for Churchill River, where she arrived on September 17, and there berthed for the winter (B. 42/a/2). She had been sent out from England in 1721 to prepare for a voyage of discovery as far as 66° 30' N. to be made in the summer of 1722 (A. 6/4, fo. 49d.), and when Middleton was transferred to her it was proposed that he should go on the expedition "to draw the Land and make Observations" (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 117). But on June 25, 1722, it was recorded in the journal of Prince of Wales's Fort: "... Capt. Scroggs not thinking fitt to lett him [Middleton] go . . . he Saying he will Satisfie the Compy. att home for his not proceeding wth. him, Mr. Bishop and I [Richard Staunton] thought itt nothing but reason that he should do something if in his Power for our Masters Intrest now Capt. Scroggs has discharged him, from proceeding wth. him, so wee sent in one of the boates a Whaleing . . ." (B. 42/a/2). On the return of the *Whalebone* from her northern voyage in 1722, Middleton "examined the Officers and Men", several of them having been his "Scholars in the Winter to learn Navigation . . ." (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 117). Meanwhile, on May 24, 1722, the Governor and Committee had arranged that on arrival in Hudson Bay that year, Captain Gofton was to exchange certain members of his crew with men who had wintered in the country. Middleton was named as one to return to England (A. 6/4, fo. 69). He accordingly returned in the *Hannah* in the following autumn (A. 1/120, fo. 27d.), but he apparently made voyages to Hudson Bay in the two succeeding years (1723 and 1724). On February 5, 1724, he petitioned for the command of the *Hannah* "in the Rome of Capt. Gofton Decd.", but the Governor and Committee postponed making any appointment as they decided not to send the *Hannah* to the Bay that year (*ibid.*, fo. 55-55d.). On January 20, 1725, Middleton was "Chosen & Appointed Commander of the Compies Ship *Hannah* Friggtt. . . at the Same Wages & Allowance as the Compa. usually give to their Commanders" (*ibid.*, fo. 75). He made a successful voyage to and from Churchill River and York

Factory in 1725, and in the spring of 1726 his "New and Exact TABLE Collected from several Observations, taken in four Voyages to *Hudson's Bay* . . Shewing the Variation of the *Magnetical Needle* . . from the Years 1721, to 1725 . . ." was published in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 34, pp. 73-6. He again commanded the *Hannah* to and from Churchill River and York Factory in 1726 and 1727, and in the following year he was transferred to the command of the *Hudson's Bay* frigate, his destination being Albany River. In 1729 his destination was York Factory, and in 1730 he sailed to Albany River. On this occasion he carried instructions for a new fort to be built at Moose River. After Middleton had "Dispatchd. his Business" at Albany he was to leave the *Hudson's Bay* in the care of his mates and go to Moose River "In Order to Assist in the Discovery of a proper place . . ." on which to build (A. 6/5, fo. 38). In 1731 Middleton again sailed to Albany in the *Hudson's Bay* and again, leaving his ship to the care of his mates, went to Moose River "to take a view of . . . proceedings at that Place" (*ibid.*, fo. 47). In 1732 and 1733 he made successful voyages to Albany River and Moose River in the *Hudson's Bay*. On his return in 1733 he was "appointed to Attend and Survey the building of the new Ship at Mr. Taylors for Accott. of the Compa." (A. 1/122, p. 110), and on May 3, 1734, the Governor and Committee wrote to Joseph Adams and Council at Albany: "Wee have this Year sent You a large Supply of all manner of Goods, having built a new ship for that purpose, called the *sea Horse* whereof Capt. Middleton is Commander, whom Wee have Ordered to sail directly for Moose River and to leave his ship there and to sail in one of the Sloops to Albany Fort with the Cargoe Consigned to you, and to receive the homeard bound Cargo . . . and as soon as he hath receiv'd his dispatches from You to proceed for Moose River, wch. Wee are of opinion may be done with less danger & greater dispatch than for the ship to go to both Factories . . ." (A. 6/5, fo. 84d.). Before sailing for Moose River in the *Seahorse* in 1735 Middleton became acquainted with Arthur Dobbs, an Irish gentleman of means and a fixed idea that an opening on the north-west coast of Hudson Bay, "not farther North than 65° about the Latitude of some parts of Norway & Iceland" was the long sought North West Passage (H.B.C. Arch., Arthur Dobbs Folder, fo. 104, and Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 206 et seq.). For several years Dobbs had been collecting information connected with explorations for the supposed passage and had obtained the interest of the Admiralty. He did not get much encouragement from the *Hudson's Bay Company*, but in 1735 the Governor and Committee made the first arrangements which resulted in the voyage of the sloops

Churchill (Captain James Napper) and *Musquash* (Captain Robert Crow) to Pistol Bay (Rankin Inlet) in the summer of 1737. Meanwhile, Dobbs remembered that he "had read in the Transactions of the Royal Society, some Remarks upon the Variation of the Needle, &c. in Hudson's Bay, communicated by one Capt. Middleton", and it occurred to him that Middleton "would be a proper Person to be acquainted with, in order to get a just Information of the Bay and late Attempts made there . . ." (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 8). The meeting apparently took place in May, 1735, and Middleton was sought for by Dobbs at a "Coffee-house in Thames-street near Bilingsgate" (Middleton, *Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs, Esq.*, pp. 2, 9). On Middleton's return from Moose River in the autumn of 1735 Dobbs again wrote to him asking if he had "made any farther Enquiry, about the Probability of a Passage near *ne Ultra . . .*" (ibid., Appendix, p. 1), and Middleton, under the direction of Sir Bibye Lake, Governor of the Company, replied on January 16, 1736, that preparations were being made to carry out discovery (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 87). In 1736 Middleton commanded the *Seahorse* on the voyage to and from Albany River and Moose River, and in the spring of the following year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His signature is reproduced on p. 22 of *The Signatures in the First Journal-Book and the Charter-Book of the Royal Society* (London, 1912). In the same spring he was given the command of the Company's new pink *Hudson's Bay* for the voyage to and from Churchill River and York Fort. William Moor was his second mate during this latter voyage (A. 1/122, p. 243) and it must have been at this time that he first became acquainted with James Isham, who was then at York Fort. It was also about this time that he claimed by the use of "Mr. Smith's or Mr. Hadley's quadrant" to be able to obtain the true time at sea by taking eight or ten different altitudes of the sun or stars when near the prime vertical. If he did not actually discover the method for himself, he was one of the first to practise it as Hadley's quadrant was only introduced at a meeting of the Royal Society in 1731. On his return in the autumn of 1737, Middleton got into touch with Dobbs by letter dated November 5. He wrote that "the Company sent two Sloops [*Churchill* and *Musquash*] upon the Discovery this last Summer; but, in my Opinion, the People on board were not duly qualified for such an Undertaking. They prosecuted their Voyage no farther than the Latit. $62^{\circ} \frac{1}{4}$ North, and returned without making any new or useful Discovery . . .", and added: "If you should be in *London* this Winter or next Spring, I shall be extremely glad of the Honour to wait upon you, and tender my Service in any Thing that may

be in my Power. In the mean Time you'll be pleased to do me the Favour of signifying the Receipt of this Letter, and so good as to conceal any Intelligence I may have an Opportunity to give you from Time to Time of this Affair. Be pleased to direct for me in *London Street*, near *Ratcliff Cross . . .*". Dobbs replied on November 20 to the effect that he would respect Middleton's confidence and remarked: "And if I knew your Inclinations as to your own attempting it or any of your Friends, I would promote it with Sir C[harles]. W[ager, First Lord of the Admiralty] in case the Company don't effectually set about it . . .". In a further letter dated January 21, 1738, Middleton confessed that although he would like the honour of discovering the North West Passage, it would not be prudent for him to quit the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company for an uncertainty (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, pp. 90-8). In another letter dated February 27, 1738, Middleton remarked to Dobbs: "What the Company intend to do hereafter I am entirely a Stranger to, as they keep every Thing a Secret; and from some Questions I have been lately asked, I found they seem suspicious of my corresponding with you. To remove which Jealousy, I returned such Answers as perhaps I should not have done had I been independant of them . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 99). But Middleton continued to correspond with Dobbs and on April 8, 1738, remarked: "I return you many Thanks for the kind Assurances of your Friendship and Interest in recommending me as a proper Person to be employed in so great an Undertaking, and shall, according to your Request, make all such farther Enquiries and Observations this Voyage as may lie in my Power" (*ibid.*, p. 102). But Middleton was unable to make any "Enquiries and Observations" in 1738 as that year he commanded the *Hudson's Bay* to and from Moose River (A. 6/6, fos. 26d.-28). He continued to keep in touch with Dobbs and in 1739 he had more opportunity to make the promised enquiries as he commanded the *Hudson's Bay* to Churchill River. On this voyage he was accompanied by William Moor as chief mate (A. 1/34, p. 253), and whilst at Churchill River he was to be allowed "without any hindrance to take such views and make such Draughts" of the factory, land and rivers as he should wish (A. 6/6, fo. 49). Middleton arrived back in London in October, 1739, to find "Preparations for War [with Spain] more vigorous than ever, and consequently all Thoughts of Application about the former Design fruitless, till a more convenient Season", but he again got into touch with Dobbs. The Navy was being expanded to meet the needs of war, so Middleton suggested that Dobbs should use his interest at the Admiralty to get him a commission. If successful, he thought it might help towards

" being employed hereafter when it may be thought proper to undertake the Discovery " (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, pp. 108-9). Dobbs accordingly wrote to Sir Charles Wager and Middleton had several interviews with the First Lord. The matter did not proceed very quickly and in the spring of 1740 Middleton once more sailed for Hudson Bay in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. On this voyage he again commanded the *Hudson's Bay* and sailed to and from Moose River. After his return in the autumn of 1740, he again corresponded with Dobbs and got into touch with Sir Charles Wager. At a Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company held on March 4, 1741, it was recorded that Middleton was to command the *Hudson's Bay* for the voyage of that year and William Moor should be his first mate (A. 1/35, p. 140), but five days later, " The Deputy Governor [Benjamin Pitt] acquainted the Committee he had received a letter from Capt. Christopher Middleton . . . acquainting them he had Accepted a Commission in the Kings Service . . ." (A. 1/35, p. 145). On 9th April following the Governor, Sir Bibye Lake, presided at a General Court of stockholders and informed them that Middleton was to go in command of an expedition of " discovery to the Northwest and Endeavour to find out a Passage to the South Sea, China, and the East Indies ". He continued : " The Committee being Informed thereof, And not knowing how far the same might affect their Property and be Prejudicial to the Company in their Trade . . . thought it necessary to lay the Same before the General Court for their directions ". After some discussion the stockholders decided that the matter should " be left to the Committee to proceed therein, as they shall think proper, and take the best care to hinder any Encroachments, on the Companys Trade, Property or Priviledges, and to do all things necessary, for preserving the same . . ." (ibid., p. 169). Meanwhile, Middleton, whose wife had lately died leaving him " a great many Family Fatigues " upon his hands, was making preparations for his voyage. On May 12, 1741, he informed the Secretary of the Admiralty that the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company had " only given their Factors orders to relieve us in Cases of the Utmost Necessity & Extremity; without giving any particular Instructions to admit us to winter there if we shou'd have occasion . . ." (London, Public Record Office, Adm. 1/2099). To enquiries made by the Admiralty the Company replied requesting that Middleton should be forbidden to winter in any of its harbours, except in case of distress, and that he should be restrained from injuring its trade. The Admiralty, however, pressed for more generous assistance and on May 30, 1741, the Secretary stated that the Governor and Committee

"are far . . . from designing to give any wilful Opposition or Hinderance to the Discovery intended to be made . . . Yet, they cannot but apprehend the Danger and ill Consequences that may attend the Company if Capt. Middleton should Winter at any of their Settlements. But in Obedience to their Lordships Desire, The Company have herein enclosed sent Orders for Capt. Middleton to the Chiefs of their several Factories, that if the said Captain should be obliged to resort to them for Assistance, he shall have the best the Company can give him" (Middleton, *Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs, Esq.*, Appendix, pp. 4-7). Early in June, 1741, Middleton sailed from the Thames in command of H.M.S. *Furnace*, and he was accompanied by the pink *Discovery*, which was commanded by his former mate, William Moor. Another old Company servant, Edward Thompson (q.v.), accompanied the expedition as surgeon. On June 27 the expedition left the Orkneys, reached Cape Farewell on July 16 and entered Hudson Strait on July 25. On July 31 Middleton was off Carey's Swan Nest, where a council was held. It was agreed that it was too late in the year to attempt any discovery and that they should find winter quarters in Churchill River. The two discovery vessels arrived off Prince of Wales's Fort on August 8 and on presentation of the Governor and Committee's instructions, Middleton and his men were received cordially by Robert Pilgrim, who was temporarily in charge awaiting the arrival of James Isham from York Fort. Isham's Journal (B. 42/a/23) shows that he arrived in Churchill River on August 16, and two days later he ". . . went up to the Old Factory [i.e. the fort built by James Knight in 1717] wth. Capt. Middleton to Sett his men to repairing itt, in Order to winter. Some of his men there, his Officers & a few men . . . Here, by Letting him have a $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Dwelling House . . ." From his journal, it is apparent that Isham gave every assistance to Middleton, a fact that was not overlooked by the Company in London, judging from the contemporary comments entered in the margins. The relations between Isham and Middleton appear to have been fairly good, although Isham, on several occasions during the spring of 1742, discovered that Middleton was trying to "Allure" the Company's men into the service of the Royal Navy. Middleton needed replacements because, on account of the lack of fresh meat, his men had suffered badly from scurvy and several had died. On June 30, 1742, Isham noted in his journal that the *Furnace* and the *Discovery* set sail, "whom God Send Safe". When writing an account of the events of the winter of 1741-42 to the Governor and Committee in July, 1742, Isham remarked that Middleton had been "a Very Troublesome Guess [sic]" (A. 11/13, fo. 76). On July 12 the *Furnace* and the *Discovery*

reached a cape which Middleton named after Dobbs, and on the 13th he entered the inlet which had been his objective. This inlet, he now suspected, was a river and, after examining it, he named it "*Wager River*, in Honour of *Sir Charles Wager*, first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty". On July 15 he recorded that many of his men were "very bad of their old Disease, the Scurvy", and that those "who were on the Recovery, when we came from *Churchill*, are grown worse again, so that one half of them are unserviceable". The tides showed that Frozen Strait was the passage to the sea, but on August 8 Middleton noted that it was choked with ice and not likely to thaw early enough that year to allow time for exploration. So a council was held and it was resolved to sail for England (Middleton, *Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton . . .*, Appendix, p. 12 et seq.). In spite of his former opinions, Middleton now believed there was no strait in those parts leading to the Western Ocean. The ships reached the Orkneys on September 15 and arrived in the Thames on October 2, 1742. The logs kept by Middleton and Moor are in P.R.O., Adm. 51/379; 290, and a copy of Middleton's log is in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, among the Dobbs Papers. Extracts from the logs, correspondence and other papers connected with the expedition were printed in Middleton, *Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton . . .* (1743); Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .* (1744); Middleton, *Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs, Esq.*, (1744); Dobbs, *Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay . . .* (1744); and Barrow, *Geography of Hudson's Bay . . .* (1852). Two letters describing the expedition written by J[ohn] L[anrick] were also printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine . . .* (London, 1742), XII, 586-7. On October 28, 1742, Middleton read his paper on "The Effects of Cold . . ." (see p. 70, n. 1) before the Royal Society, and on November 30 following he was presented with the prize gold medal for that year (*Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 42, p. 171). The results of the expedition were negative and Dobbs, disappointed and angry, accused Middleton of concealing the discovery of the Passage in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Admiralty called upon Middleton to answer the charges laid against him and he replied in 1743 with his *Vindication . . .*, the first of the publications in the pamphlet war between him and Dobbs which followed. Some of the titles have already been mentioned above. Dobbs' influence was considerable and the Admiralty, hesitating to accept Middleton's statements, kept him unemployed for nearly two years, in spite of the fact that the War of the Austrian Succession was calling for the services

of every efficient officer. According to a petition Middleton addressed to the Admiralty in 1748 praying to be "reimbursed his Expences only" if he was not thought worthy of reward, he was on June 8, 1745, given command of the *Shark* sloop of war and sent with expresses to Admiral Sir William Rowley, then at Gibraltar. He then served on the Scottish coast during the Rebellion of 1745 and later cruised off the coast of Flanders to prevent French privateers coming out of their ports. Afterwards he was stationed up the Scheldt "while Hult and Bergen op zoom were beseig'd . . .". He had discharged his duties satisfactorily "but", he remarked, "this was far from enabling him to repair his former Losses" incurred as a result of defending his conduct during the expedition of 1741-42 (P.R.O., Adm. 1/2106). Middleton was still in command of the *Shark* in the spring of 1746, when he had charge of a convoy which sailed from the Orkneys for the North West. Among the ships were those of the Hudson's Bay Company and two outfitted by Dobbs and his friends (the *Dobbs-Galley* and *California*) which were to seek for the North West Passage (see pp. 334-5). In the summer of 1748 Middleton was put on half-pay of 4s. od. per day, and he remained on the half-pay list until his death on February 12, 1770 (P.R.O., Adm. 25/35-78) at Norton, county Durham (W. Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (Carlisle, 1794), III, 112). In his will dated December 16, 1769, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on January 31, 1771, he described himself as a master mariner of Norton, county Durham, and the beneficiaries were: his wife, Jane; his daughter, Judith Isbister, who was to have his "Family picture" if she should ever demand it; and his three children by his wife Jane, Kitty, Jane and John, who were all under age at the time the will was made. Middleton's Royal Society gold medal was bequeathed to his son John (London, Somerset House, Trevor 26). The portrait mentioned in the will was presumably the one in possession of David Minlore, Esq., of London in 1934 (H.B.C. Archives). The mother of Judith Isbister was presumably the wife Middleton mentioned just before he sailed on the 1741 expedition as "being lately dead" (P.R.O., Adm. 1/2099). According to Arthur Dobbs (*Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay . . .*, p. 98), William Moor (q.v.), master of the *Discovery*, was Middleton's cousin, "and some said was to marry his Daughter . . .". Time has justified Middleton, for it has proved that there is no strait on the shore of Hudson Bay leading to a North West Passage. In 1821 Lieut. William Edward Parry passed through Frozen Strait to Repulse Bay and found his passage barred. Parry wrote: "Above all, the accuracy of Captain

Middleton is manifest upon the point most strenuously argued against him by Mr. Dobbs; for our subsequent experience has not left the smallest doubt of Repulse Bay and the northern part of the Welcome being filled by a rapid tide flowing into it from the eastward, through the Frozen Strait" (Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage ... 1821-22-23* (London, 1824), p. 54).

Moor, William

In the *Report from the Committee Appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and the Trade carried on there* (London, 1749), p. 228, William Moor's evidence stated that "he had been employed in *Hudson's Bay* from a Boy". He was, according to Arthur Dobbs, a cousin of Captain Christopher Middleton (*Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay ...*, p. 98). On October 19, 1737, Moor received £12 1s. 11d. on account of wages as second mate of the *Hudson's Bay* pink (Captain Christopher Middleton) on the voyage to and from Churchill River and York Fort, and in the following year he apparently served in the *Mary* (Captain William Coats) on the voyage to and from Churchill River and York Fort (A. 1/122, p. 243, and A. 1/34, pp. 68, 140). During the voyage of the *Hudson's Bay* (Captain Middleton) to and from Churchill River in 1739, Moor was chief mate (A. 1/34, pp. 252, 302), and he apparently remained in the Company's service until 1741, when he left to join the Admiralty expedition in search of the North West Passage commanded by his cousin, Middleton (see pp. 330-32). Moor had command of the *Discovery* pink during this expedition of 1741-42 and his logs are in P.R.O., Adm. 51/290. The results of the expedition were negative. Dobbs stuck to his belief that a passage could be found and accused Middleton of hiding the truth in favour of his old employers. As a result of petitions from Dobbs and his supporters to the House of Commons urging that the discovery should be undertaken, an Act of Parliament (1745. 28 Geo. II, Cap. 17) was passed offering a reward of £20,000 to any British subject or subjects who should find the Passage. Dobbs and his associates then organised a co-partnership managed by a committee of nine known as the North West Committee. Subscriptions were called for up to £10,000 and two ships were bought and named the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California*. The command of the *Dobbs-Galley* (180 tons) was given to William Moor, who had sided with Dobbs during the controversy which had followed Middleton's return in 1742, and the command of the *California* (140 tons) was given to Francis Smith, who had also formerly served the *Hudson's Bay* Company. The vessels set

sail down the Thames on May 10, 1746, and in the early days of June arrived at the Orkneys, where Moor's late commander, Captain Middleton, was waiting in H.M.S. *Shark* to convoy all ships bound for the North West. Four ships of the Hudson's Bay Company were in the same convoy, but after the *Shark* returned to port Moor and Smith lost sight of them and proceeded alone (see p. 203, n. 2). The *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* arrived off Marble Island on August 12 and after a few days spent in observing the tides held a council. It was decided "to bear away for a Place, proper for . . . Winter Quarters . . . Port Nelson was fixed on . . . as being preferable . . . it being clear of Ice the soonest . . .". But the vessels entered Hayes River instead and arrived off York Factory on August 26, 1746. If Governor Isham had found Middleton "a Very Troublesome Guess" at Churchill in 1741-42, he found that Moor and Smith at York Fort were worse in 1746-47. He had no written instructions from the Company regarding the manner in which he was to treat the expedition, although he doubtless had received verbal instructions when he was in London in the spring of 1746, but the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* held commissions as privateers and as such could demand the right of assistance at any British port. This right the captains invoked, and Isham was bound to help them. Accounts of the way in which they spent the winter are to be found in the official record of the expedition (*A Voyage to Hudson's Bay . . .*) written by Henry Ellis, agent for the proprietors, and in *An Account of a Voyage . . .*, written by the Clerk of the *California*. Both accounts were published in 1748. Isham also kept a contemporary account of the events of the winter of 1746-47 and this is published for the first time in Appendix A, pp. 241-308. The ships were docked for the winter in Ten Shilling Creek, and Montagu House, named after one of the subscribers to the expedition, "that worthy Nobleman and generous Patron of all useful Undertakings, his Grace the Duke of Montague", was built for the accommodation of most of the personnel. Moor and Smith did not agree and for two months the latter lived at York Fort. When Smith returned to Montagu House the two men resumed speaking terms and on June 24, 1747, sailed from Hayes River on their expedition. By July 2 they reached latitude 62° 24' N. between Marble Island and the mainland. Successive inlets on the coast were examined, including Rankin Inlet (named after his mate by Middleton in 1742), Chesterfield Inlet and Wager Inlet, the last-named being the supposed opening to the Passage. To their disappointment they found that it led only to a stream issuing from a large lake inland. On August 25 a council was called and it was resolved to return to England. The ships arrived back

in the Thames in October, 1747. No further references to Moor have been found in the Company's archives.

Smith, Francis

Francis Smith entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at least as early as 1737 and on October 26 received £12 17s. 11d. for wages as second mate of the *Seahorse* (Captain George Spurrell) (A. 1/122, p. 246). The ship had made a successful voyage to and from Moose Factory. On April 20, 1738, Smith agreed "to be Master of the *Churchill* Sloop for five Years at £40 a Year, And . . . A Servant at £12 a Year" (A. 1/34, p. 78). He sailed for Churchill River as second mate of the *Seahorse* and on arrival at the end of July, 1738, was transferred, as agreed, to the command of the *Churchill* sloop. In accordance with the Governor and Committee's instructions, the *Churchill* sailed on August 5, "with a proper Cargo to Pistol Bay and parts Adjacent to meet the Indians there as was promised them the last Year. To trade with them in the best manner . . . to Cultivate a good understanding with them And . . . encourage and prevail with them to come down to Trade at Esquemaie Point . . ." (B. 42/a/19 and A. 6/6, fos. 4d.-5). The *Churchill* was back at Prince of Wales's Fort by August 15 "having Not seen any Natives" (A. 11/13, fo. 48d.), and soon afterwards she was berthed for the winter. In August, 1739, Smith, in command of the *Churchill*, accompanied the *Seahorse* to York Factory, and on his return to Churchill River early in September he prepared the sloop for winter quarters (B. 42/a/20). According to instructions received at Prince of Wales's Fort from the Governor and Committee in the late summer of 1739, the *Churchill* was prepared in 1740 for a trading voyage to Pistol Bay and beyond (A. 6/6, fo. 45). Commanded by Francis Smith, she sailed from Churchill River on July 5 "for Northward Trade wth. Askemays", and on July 24 returned, apparently having made only a small trade (B. 42/a/20 and A. 6/6, fo. 103d.). On August 9, 1740, Richard Norton, chief at Prince of Wales's Fort, wrote to the Governor and Committee stating that he and the Council had decided the northern expedition for 1741 should be cancelled. If, as they feared, France should declare war on England, Prince of Wales's Fort would be "in no posture of Defence" to meet an attack and all available help would be needed to work on the fortifications (A. 11/13, fo. 62). The sloop's crew accordingly assisted in the building operations (*ibid.*, fo. 68) and there was no trading voyage to Whale Cove in 1741. The Governor and Committee did not approve of the expedition being cancelled (A. 6/6, fo. 103d.) and in 1742 the *Churchill*, commanded by Francis Smith, resumed

the voyage. She sailed from Churchill River on June 30 in company with Captain Middleton's expedition, but "Made but a poor Trade" (A. 11/13, fo. 76). Smith made another trading voyage to the north in the *Churchill* sloop in 1743 and at the expiration of his contract agreed to renew it for one more year (A. 6/7, fo. 24, and A. 11/13, fo. 82). On his return from the trading voyage to Whale Cove in 1744 he received a letter dated May 10, 1744, from the Governor and Committee informing him that the war with France and Spain made it necessary to keep all "Strength as much as possible together at the Factory"; consequently the northern voyage was to be abandoned (A. 6/7, fo. 45d.). Smith returned to England in the autumn of 1744 as second mate of the *Prince Rupert* (Captain George Spurrell) and his account with the Company was closed on February 20, 1745 (A. 1/36, pp. 261-3). Apparently Smith kept several journals during his service for the Company, but only the one covering August 1, 1743, to July 31, 1744, is in the archives (B. 42/a/26). Smith joined the expedition of 1746-47 in search of a North West Passage financed by Arthur Dobbs and his supporters and was given command of the *California* (140 tons), whilst William Moor (q.v.) had command of the *Dobbs-Galley* (180 tons). The two vessels spent the winter of 1746-47 in Ten Shilling Creek, Hayes River, and Montagu House was built for the accommodation of most of the officers and men. As will be seen from James Isham's account of the events of 1746-47 (see pp. 241-308), Smith and Moor could not agree. On January 14, 1747, Smith "begd. the favour to Stay a small time" at York Factory "in hopes of their being a reconciliation" later with Moor. Isham agreed and Smith's wife, Kitty, the first white woman recorded as being at York Factory, joined her husband. The reconciliation between Moor and Smith took place later and a short account of their voyage northward in the summer of 1747 will be found on pp. 335-6. Francis Smith's log of the *California* is in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, and there is also a contemporary copy in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company (Arthur Dobb's Folder).

Thompson, Edward

According to Captain Christopher Middleton, Edward Thompson "served his Time seven Years to a Surgeon, and from four or five Years a Journeyman in London". He then was "Mate two Years in the Navy" (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Captn. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 125). In 1737 he joined the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a surgeon and sailed to Moose River in the *Seahorse* (Captain George Spurrell).

Thompson was appointed a member of the "Standing Council" at Moose (A. 6/5, fo. 121d., and A. 6/6, fo. 38), but the chief, Richard Staunton, did not allow him to act as "Every thing . . . Spoke or Acted upon all affairs" was by him "tould in publick at the Stoves mouth" (A. 11/43, fo. 19, and A. 6/6, fo. 69). After three years at Moose, Thompson was recalled (A. 6/6, fo. 69) and he sailed to England in the *Hudson's Bay pink* (Captain Middleton). Middleton presumably met Thompson for the first time in 1738, when he made the voyage to Moose River, and it was probably during the homeward voyage of 1740 that Middleton "promised to carry him [Thompson] Surgeon" on a future voyage he hoped to make in search of a North West Passage (Dobbs, *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence . . .*, p. 125). In the winter of 1740-41 Thompson "passed at *Surgeon's Hall* . . . for a third Rate Mate" and, according to Middleton (*ibid.*), refused to return to the Company's service as a "Governor" as he depended "on the Certainty" of sailing on the proposed expedition. There is no record in the Company's archives of such an offer being made. Thompson was apparently examined at Surgeon's Hall in April, 1741, and Middleton blamed the Hudson's Bay Company for using "Means to hinder the Surgeons of the Hall from giving him a qualification" (*ibid.*, p. 126). But although Thompson was only a surgeon's mate, the Commissioners of the Navy appointed him "Surgeon of the *Furnace*", the vessel which Middleton commanded on the voyage of 1741-42, in search of a North West Passage (P.R.O., Adm. 1/2099). During the controversy which followed the return of the expedition in 1742, Thompson sided with Dobbs against Middleton; and in the expedition of 1746-47 outfitted by Dobbs and his supporters, he was attached to the *Dobbs-Galley* as surgeon. Thompson's evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee of 1749 is on pp. 222-4 of *Report from the Committee on the State of the Hudson's Bay Company*.

INDEX

INDEX

- A**ADAMS, JOSEPH, xxv, 327
 Admiralty, xlvi, 1, li, liv, lxiii, lxxii,
 lxxiv, lxxix, lxxxiv, 237ⁿ, 307
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, 204ⁿ
 Albany Factory, climate of, 235–6 ;
 council at, lxxii ; defences at, xxiv ;
 French attack on, lxxxii ; French com-
 petition felt at, xxii, xxv, ci, 231ⁿ ;
 gardens at, 218ⁿ ; Indians of, 315, 316,
 317 ; T. Macklish at, xxii ; J. Myatt
 at, xxviii, xxix ; northern voyages
 from, c
 Albany River, xxii, xl, xlvi, 208ⁿ
 Allspice, 224ⁿ
 Amisk Lake, 68ⁿ
 Angelica (anchillico), 134
 Anne, Queen, xiv
 Anson, George, Lord, 1
 Antigua, 203ⁿ
 Appleby, xcvi
 Apprentices, xx
Argo, see Ships
 Aspinall, William, 276ⁿ
 Assiniboine River, 69ⁿ, 311ⁿ
 Aurora Borealis, 74
- B**AIN, DR. JAMES, 311ⁿ
 Barley, xxxvii, 224ⁿ, 265ⁿ
 Barren Grounds, 311ⁿ, 312ⁿ
 Bay, The, see Hudson Bay
 Bayonet, 93
 Beads, xxxiv, 108, 110
 Beans, xxxvii, 218ⁿ
 Bear Lake, 68ⁿ
 Bears, 149, 165–6
 Bears Point, 174, 175
 Beaver, as standard of trade, 231ⁿ, 232,
 237 ; coats, 212ⁿ, 295, *see also* Tockies ;
 description and habits of, 143–50 ;
 flesh, 144, 313 ; hunting of, 146, 164,
 215 ; made, lxiiiⁿ ; mentioned, 201ⁿ,
 202 ; price of, xx ; returns, lxiiiⁿ,
 238 ; summer caught, xxi
- Beef, 170, 253, 254, 279, 284, 285, 287,
 293, 297, 298, 299
 Beer, lvii, lxxix, lxxxvii, 69, 72, 173,
 213, 252, 253, 255, 259, 306 ; spruce,
 lvii
 Belcher, James, xxvn
 Belts, 108
 Berries, xxxvi, 133
 Birch Trees, 136, 137, 146
 Bird, Thomas, xix
 Birds, G. Edwards' *History of Uncommon
 Birds*, 119ⁿ ; *see also* Bitterns, Cranes,
 Crows, etc.
 Birmingham, xcvi
 Bitterns, 126
 Bladen, Martin, xlvi, lxxvii
 Blankets, 90
 Blubber, 167, 181
 Bolingbroke, Henry Saint-John, Vis-
 count, xiv, xv
 Boston, 203ⁿ
 Bourbon, Fort, 68ⁿ, 69ⁿ
 Bourbon, Lake, *see* Cedar Lake
 Brady, Charles, 243, 245, 248, 285, 287ⁿ,
 303, 304
 Brandy, as payment to Indians, 213, 264,
 265, 267, 275, 299, 300 ; belonging to
 Middleton (1741–42 expedition), lvii,
 lxxxvii ; belonging to 1746–47 expedi-
 tion, 215ⁿ, 253, 265, 268, 272, 278, 280,
 284, 285, 287, 298, 305, 306 ; effects
 of cold on, 69 ; Indians' liking for,
 103 ; Northern Indians dislike of,
 222ⁿ ; not traded by French, 221 ;
 presents of, xxvii, xxxiv, 233 ; ser-
 vants', xiii, xxviii
- Bricks, xxxiv, 255, 256, 259, 261
 Bridgar, John, 86ⁿ
 Bristol, xc, xcvi
 Buffalo, 154, 310, 312
 Burbot (Merthy), 168ⁿ
 Burgoon, 132
 Burpee, L. J., 68ⁿ, 313ⁿ

- Burton's Bay, 175
 Bustards, 128
 Butler, John (Senior), xlv, 175
 Butler's Cove, 175
 Butter, 305
 Button, Sir Thomas, 235, 236
 Buttons, xxxiv, 257
- CABBAGE**, 217, 218n
California, *see* Ships
 Calumet, 82-5, 128
 Canada, xxv, lxxiii, lxxiv, civ
 Canadians, *see* French
 Cannon, 173n, 174, 175, 243, 298
 Canoes, lxxiii, 65-6, 138-40, 312
 Caps, 110, 111, 117
 Carlisle, xcvi
 Carp (Sucker), 168, 169
 Castoreum, 144
 Cats (Lynx), 142, 232
 Cedar (Bourbon), Lake, 69n
 Champlain, Samuel de, xxv, xvii
 Cheese, 253, 259, 268, 284
 Chesterfield Inlet, xci, 335
 Chisels, 93, 222, 287
 Christianaux Lake, *see* Winnipeg, Lake
 Christianity, xxviii-ix
Churchill, *see* Ships
Churchill, *see* Churchill River ; Prince of Wales's Fort
 Churchill River, country inland from, 113, 114, 179, 182 ; defences at, xxiv, xlvi, lxiii, ciii ; description of, xl, 130n, 236 ; discovery and voyages from, xxxix-liii, lxxi, c, 181 ; draught of, 173n ; fort established at, xl, xli, 5n, 174, 175 ; Indians desert, xxv ; Indians of, 5n, 310, 312, 315n, 316, 317 ; Indians trading at, 68n, 219, 311 ; J. Isbister at, xxx ; J. Isham at, xxxiii, xxxix, li, lli, liv-lxiv, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxxix, 236 ; H. Kelsey at, xli ; J. Knight at, xl, 130n ; letters for Moor and Smith from, 258 ; mentioned, lxxxiv, lxxxvi, 154, 215n, 246, 248, 253 ; C. Middleton winters at, lli, liv-lxii ; observations at, 70 ; ore from near, 134, 218 ; R. Pilgrim at, 211n ; removal of, liv ; route to, 68n ; site of stone fort at, 132n, 173-7 ; trade of, xlvi, lxiii, lxxiv, 207, 208n ; *see also* Prince of Wales's Fort
 Clerk of the *California*, lxxxv, lxxxvii, xci, 203n, 238n, 265n, 266n, 277, 278, *see also* Drage, Mr.
 Climate, 66-7, 71-5, 130, 206, 220n, 235, 236
 Clithero, xcvi
 Cloth, xxiii, xxxiv, xcvi, 86, 232, 237
 Coats, William, xxii, xxvii, xxviii, 334
 Cocking, Matthew, cii, 313n
 Cockpit Tavern, xiv
 Cod, 169
 Cold, Effects of, 66-7, 69-70, 73n, 74-5
 Colden, Cadwallader, 266n
 Cole, John, 314, 315
 Cole-wort, 217
 Colonisation (Settlement), xxxvii, lxxiii, xcix
 Combs, xxxiv
 Copper, Coppermines, xl, xli, xlvi, xlvi, lxx, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 219
 Corn, xxxvii
 Coventry, xcvi
 Cradles, 105
 Cranberries, 133, 136, 156
 Cranes, 125
 Crayfish (Crawfish), 169
 Cross Creek, 247
 Cross Lake, 68n
 Crow, Robert, lxxviii, 328
 Crows, 125, 126
 Cuckles Point, 174
 Cumberland Lake, 68n
 Curing Methods, 170
 Currants, 133
- DAUPHIN, FORT**, 69n
 Dauphin, Lake, 69n
 Deer, 81, 99, 131-2, 140, 141, 142, 150, 151-4, 156
 Deer Meat, 116, 155, 292, 293, 298, 299 ; *see also* Venison
 Deer Skins, 89, 111, 151
 Defence Measures, xxiv-v, xxxv, lxxxii, 242n, 247n ; *see also* Cannon
 Derby, xcvi
Discovery, *see* Ships

- Discovery Expeditions, from Albany, xlvi, c ; inland, xlii, lxx, lxxi, 114-15, 180 ; J. Knight's, xli, xlvi, xlvii, xlviii ; maritime discovery and trading from Churchill, xliv, xv, xlvi, xlviii, xlxi, c, 181 ; J. Napper's, xlxi ; J. Scroggs, xlxi, xliv-v, 326 ; suspended, lxxxii ; *see also* C. Middleton ; Ships, *California*, *Dobbs-Galley*, etc.
- Dobbs, Arthur, approaches Sir B. Lake, xviii ; attacks H.B.C. charter and trade, lxvi, lxxvii, lxxix, xci-iv, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, ciii, 199n ; criticised by Isham, 201, 207, 234-8 ; his accusations against H.B.C., lii, lxxv ; his accusations against Middleton, lx, lxxii-iii, lxv, lxxiii, lxxiv-vi, lxxxi, xcii ; his interest in N.W. Passage, xlvi, xlvi, xlvi, xlvi, xlvi, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxxi, xc, xcii ; H.B.C. trade and, liv ; publications by, lxv, lxxiv-v, xcvi, ciii, 201 ; relations between H.B.C. and, l, lv ; relations between Middleton and, xlvi, lv ; requests Scroggs' journal, xlvi ; trade goods on *Discovery*, lvi ; withdraws from attack on H.B.C., xcvi
- Dobbs-Galley*, *see* Ships
- D'Occident, Compagnie, xxiv
- Dogs, 164
- Dollond, John, 70n
- Doves, 125
- Drage (Dragg) Mr., 238, 265, 277, 287, 288, 297, 320 ; *see also* Clerk of the *California*
- Drage, Theodorus Swaine, 266n
- Dress, English, 116-17 ; Indian, 109-11
- Drover, Richard, 275, 283
- Drunkenness, xiv, xxxviii-ix, lix, 215, 291
- Ducks, 122, 201
- Duffel, 116, 117
- Dupleix, Joseph François, xxx
- Dyes, 135-6
- EAGLES, 128
- Ear-rings, 110
- East India Stocks, xix
- Eastmain, xlvi, c
- Eastmain House, 315
- Eastmain River, 315n
- Eavenson, Howard N., 266n
- Echimamish River, 68n
- Edwards, George, lxix, 119n, 321
- Elderton, William, i, 198n
- Elers, Peter, 198n
- Elk, 154
- Ellis, Henry, aboard *Dobbs-Galley* as agent, lxxxi, 199n ; accusations against, 301 ; book by, lxxxv, lxxxvi, xc-i, 197, 199, 203n ; criticised by Isham, 199 et seq ; his relations with Isham, lxxxviii, 278, 281, 282 ; his relations with Capt. Smith's clerk, 278 ; letters from, 245, 250, 252 ; mentioned, 76n, 244n, 251, 252, 254, 256, 285, 297, 303, 304, 308
- Ermine, 150
- Eskimo (Ehuskemay, Iskemay) Point, 132, 173, 174n, 175, 312
- Eskimos (Uskemaus), xxviii, xl, xlvi, xlvi, l, lxxxi, 5n, 139, 153, 155, 181, 234, 312
- FAT, 156
- Feathers, 93, 128
- Fires, 171, 172
- Fish, 167-70
- Fishing Point, 174, 175
- Five Fathom Hole, 242, 243, 246, 308
- Flamborough House, c, 321-2
- Flannel, 257
- Flannery, Dr. Regina, 313n
- Flies, 131-2, 151
- Floods, 211
- Flour (Flower), xxxiv, 265, 276, 279, 299, 301
- Flying Seals, 126
- Food, 170 ; *see also* Indian(s), food
- Ford, Richard, xciv, 248, 256
- Forster, John Reinhold, 168n
- Fourteens River, 296n
- Fowler, Jonathan, (senr.), 323, 324
- Fox River, 68n
- Foxes, xxxv, 156-7, 158, 181
- Franklin, Benjamin, 266n
- French (Canadian), competition, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxxi, xl, xlvi, lxix, lxx, xcix, ci, cii, 208n, 231n, 232, 233 ; damages claimed from, xx ; enemies

- French (Canadian)—*cont.*
 to H.B.C., ci ; explorations, 114 ;
 H.B.C. men forbidden to harbour,
 237n ; Indian revenge on, 95 ; Indians,
 xxv, 112, 231 ; liquor not sold
 by, 221n ; posts inland, xxii, 68, 69n,
 191, 231n, 315 ; standard of trade,
 xxiii, ci, 208n, 232 ; tobacco, 86n ;
 to be driven out of Canada, lxxiii, civ,
 207 ; trading goods, xxii, xxiii ; wood-
 runners, xxi, xxii, xxv, xxvi, xlvi, lxix,
 lxxiv, 99
- French Creek, 211, 242, 248, 252, 254,
 276
- French East India Company, xxx
- Frog Portage (Portage de Traite), 68n
- Frost, Augustine, lxxx, 215, 230, 291,
 293, 297, 300
- Frostbite, lvii
- Frozen Strait, 333, 334
- Fullertine, John, lxxxii
- Furnace, *see* Ships
- Fur Sales, xx, 237n
- Furs, imported, xx ; small, 104, 232
- GALE, WILLIAM, 285n
- Gardens, xxxvi, 234n
- Garters (Carters), 107, 110
- Gaunt, Johnny (Indian), 260
- Geese, 67, 77, 120–3, 125, 170, 201, 293,
 295
- Ginger, 224n
- Glasgow, xciv
- Glue, 168
- Gofton, Captain Ingram, xxvn, 326
- Gold, xli
- Gooseberries, 133
- Goose Hunts, 117–19, 297, 300, 305
- Goose Quills, 108
- Goose Ridge, 174
- Gout, cii, 278
- Graham, Andrew, 114n, 309, 324
- Great Lake or Little Sea, xxv ; *see also*
 Winnipeg, Lake
- Great Slave Lake, xl, 315n
- Groats, 265
- Gunpowder (Powder), xxiii, xxxiv, 85,
 233, 237
- Guns, xxiv, xxvii, 86, 237, 314 ; setting,
 158–60, 161
- Gunworms, xxxiv
- Gwyniad (Tickomeg), 168n
- Gwynn (Guyne, Gynn), James, 245, 250,
 285, 286, 287, 288
- HALIFAX, xcvi
- Hall, John, 242, 243, 245, 247
- Hancock, Captain, xlivi
- Hannah, *see* Ships
- Harding, Thomas, 285n
- Hares, 130, 201
- Hatchets, 93, 222, 310, 314
- Hayes Island, c
- Hayes River, lxxxix, c, 68n, 69n, 113,
 172, 204, 205n, 223n, 236, 241, 243,
 245, 262, 307
- Hearne, Samuel, 180n, 311–12n
- Hedgehog, 202
- Henday (Hendry), Anthony, cii, 115n,
 311n, 312–13n, 323
- Henley House, ci, 315
- Herbs, *see* Plants
- Henry, Alexander (the elder), 311n
- Holding, James, 203, 206n, 244n, 245,
 249, 257, 288
- Hollesley Bay, 203n
- Horse-flies, 131
- Horses, 311
- House of Commons, lxxvi, lxxviii, xcvi,
 xcvi, 199n
- Houses, 172–3
- Howy, George, xciv
- Huckleberries, 133
- Hudson Bay (The Bay), animals of, 201
 202 ; birds over, 128 ; ceded to Great Britain, xiv ; fish from, 168n ; Indians of, 5n ; Parliamentary enquiry (1749) into state of, xcvi ; Postlethwayt on, ciii ; route, lxxiv ; voyages to, 197, 199
- Hudson Strait, xiv, xlvi, lxxviii, 126
- Hudson's Bay (frigate), *see* Ships
- Hudson's Bay (pink), *see* Ships
- Hudson's Bay Company, accountants, xciv ; archives, xiim, xxxvi, xcvi, 243n ; attendance money, xix ; capital, xvi, xvii ; charter, xlvii, lv, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxviii, xcii, xciii, xciv, xcv, xcvi, xcix, c, 199n, 248, 249, 292, 321 ; claims from French by, xx ; Committeee,

xviii, xix, xxiii–iv, xciv, 1, 4, 198n; damages suffered from French by, xiv; Deputy Governors, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, xlvi, 1, 4, 174n, 198n, 330; dividends, xvi, xvii, xviii, xx; furs imported by, xx; General Court, lxxviii, xciii, xcvi; goods exported by, xx; Governors, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxiv, xxxi, xxxii, 1, 4, 181n, 198n, *see also* Lake, Sir Bibye; Lake, Sir Atwill; insurance business of, xx; investments of, xix; ornithologists' debt to, 119n; Parliamentary Committee (1749) and, xc–xcix; profits, 208n; prosperity of, xiv, xix; relations between traders and, xxxii–iii; Secretary, xix, xciv; stock, trebling of, xvi, xvii; Sub-committee for trade, xxiii, xxiv; trade, Dobbs' attacks on, *see* Dobbs, Arthur, and Parliamentary Committee (1749); trading policy of, xxiii, xxx, xxxi, lxiii, lxx, cii, ciii, civ

Hughes, John, 211n, 299, 300, 305

Hull, xcvi

Huts, *see* Tents, log

Ice, 71–2, 75, 90

Index to Observations, 192–5

Indian(s), age of, 103; begging, 112; belts, 107; burial, 93–4; ceremony of the calumet, 82–5; character of, xxviii, lx, 80, 81, 92, 94–5, 99, 103; children, 92–3, 104, 105–6, 223n, 224; children of white men and Indian; women, 78–9; conjuring, 98–9, 104; constitution of, 96; corn, 115; cradles, 105; customs, 80, 96–9, 102, 111, 224, 228, 310, 313; description of, 78–80, 222n, 310, 311; diseases of, 221n; dress, 109–11; drunkenness, 92, 103, 106, 109, 221n; feasts, 76–7; food, 80–1, 108, 132, 141–2, 143, 155, 156, 157, 164, 165, 166, 202, 215n, 313; fort hunters, 78; games, 111–12; graves, 94; H.B.C. policy towards, xxvi–vii, xxviii, xxix, xxx–i, xxxiv, xcix, ci–ii; hunters, 117; hunting rules, 147, 155, 156, 215n; providence of, 80; language, *see*

vocabularies of; living arrangements of, 101–2; marriages, 101; medicine, 96; men, 78, 80, 110–11; nations, 112–13; number of, 91–2; ornaments, 110, 128; revenge on French by, 95; starvation among, xxxiv, 80, 81, 100–1, 225–7; surgery, etc., 96, 97; tents, 88–90; transport, 178, 312, 313; treatment of, 81; vocabularies of, lxv, lxvii, lxviii, 5–64, 65, 112, 113, 178, 183–91, 310, 311, 312, 314n, 315; wars, xxv, xxvi, 5n, 87, 114; wives, 95; women, xxxiv, 79, 80, 98, 103, 104, 106, 109–10, 111, 224, 227

Indian Nations, Algonkian, 5n, 314n; Assiniboine (Assinae-poet, Stone), 5n, 36, 42–4, 44–7, 114, 115, 310–11, 312, 313, 314, 317; Athaspaskan, 5n; Blackfeet, lxx, cii, 113n, 311n, 313n, *see also* Earchithinu; Blood, 113n, 313n; Cherokee, 315; Chipewyan (Wechepowuck), xxvi, xl, 5n, 177 et seq, 311–12, 316; Copper (Yellowknife), xliv, xlv, 5n, 177–81; Cree (Oupeshepow), xxvi, xxvii, xl, lxvii, 5n, 309–10, 315n, 317; Dogrib, 5n; Eagle Eyed, 115; Earchithinu (Archithene, Blackfeet), lxx, 35, 36, 87, 112, 113, 114, 115, 310, 311, 312–14; Gros Ventres, 113n, 313n; Hurons, xxv; Iroquois, xxv; Keiskatchewan, *see* Saskatchewan; Mandan, 114n, 311n, 314n; Nakawawuck (Ojibwa), 191, 314, 315, 317; Northern or Northward, xxvi, xl, xlii, xliv, xlv, lviii, 5n, 37, 109, 138, 155, 177–81, 182, 183–91, 219, *see also* Athapaskan, Chipewyan, Copper; Ojibwa (Nakawawuck), 314, 315n; Ottawa (Attawawa), 315, 317; Oupeshepow, *see* Cree; Piegans, 113n, 313n; Saskatchewan (Keiskatchewan), 68n, 237n, 309, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316; Slave, 5n; Southward, 36, 109, 113, 114, 115; Stone, *see* Assiniboine; Water-fall, 313n; Wechepowuck, *see* Chipewyan, Northern; Yellowknife, *see* Copper

Insurance, xx

Isbister, Joseph, xxx, xciv, 258n

Isham, Charles Price, 325

- Isham, James, accusations against, lxxxiii, 232-3 ; appointed to Flamborough House, c ; appreciation of, lxxiii ; at Indian feast, 76-7 ; at York Fort, xiii ; beloved by Indians, 115ⁿ ; biography of, 318-25 ; birds collected by, 119ⁿ ; character of, xiii, xiv, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxix, liii, lxv, lxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxvi, cii, civ-v ; chief at Churchill, xxxiii, xxxix, li, lii, liii, liv-lxiv, lxxiii ; chief at York Fort, xxxiii, xxxv, xlvi, liii, lxxx, lxxxiv, c, 115ⁿ ; council of, 242ⁿ, 243ⁿ, 247ⁿ, 248ⁿ ; criticism of, liv, lxiv, lxxx, lxxxv, lxxxviii ; family of, cii ; health of, lxiv, lxxii, lxxxix, 4ⁿ, 203, 217, 278, 279, 280 ; his relations with Committee, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi ; his relations with *Dobbs* and *California* expedition, lxxxiii, lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, lxxxix, xcix, c, 203, 205, 209-10, 212-14, 228-30, 241 et seq., 320, 335 ; his relations with Indians, lxiv, lxviii-ix, cii ; his relations with Middleton, li, liv, lviii, lix-lxii, lxiv, lxxiii, lxxxix, xcix, 319, 331 ; his views on discovery, lxx, lxxi, 180 ; in London, 198ⁿ, 214ⁿ ; instructions regarding *Dobbs* and *California* to, lxxxi, lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, lxxxix, 214, 248, 251 ; instructions regarding Middleton's expedition to, li-ii, lii, lxxx ; journals of, xxxiii, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxiii, lxxxvi, xciii, 205, 213, 241-308, 266ⁿ ; letters and reports from, xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxvii-viii, lxxxiii, lxxxvi, xciii, 4, 243 et seq. ; *Notes* by, lxxxvi, ciii, civ, 197-238 ; *Observations* by, xxxvi, ix, lxiv, lxv-lxxi, lxxii, lxxxvi, ciii, civ ; Parliamentary Committee (1749) and, xxix, xxxvii, lxx, xciv, xcvi, xcix ; recalled, lxxiii, lxxix-lxxx, xciv, xcvi, 198ⁿ ; sends men inland to bring Indians to trade, cii, 115ⁿ ; trading recommendations of, xxxiii-iv, xcix, cii, civ ; wife of, cii
- JACKASHEPUCK, 132-3
- Jackdaws, 125
- Jackfish, 168
- Jack-rabbit (jackashes), 165
- Jacobs, Ferdinand, 134ⁿ, 325
- James (Indian Boy), xliv
- James Bay, 86ⁿ
- James, Fort, 324, 325
- Jérémie, Monsieur, xiv, xxxv
- Johnson, William, 245, 250, 264
- Jones, Samuel, xvii
- Juniper, berries, 133 ; trees, 137, 143, 146
- KAMINISTIKWIA, xvii
- Kelsey, Henry, xiv, xix, xxvi, xxvii, xxxii, xxxix, xl, xli, xliii
- Kendal, xcvi
- Kettles, xxiii, xxxiv, 86
- King George*, see Ships
- Kites, 128
- Knapp, Thomas, 1, 198ⁿ
- Knight, James, at Churchill R., xxxix, liv, 132ⁿ, 174ⁿ ; at York Fort, xxii, xxxv ; character of, xxxii ; death of, xli, xlv ; his policy towards Indians, xxvi ; instructions to, xv ; journals of, xxiv, lxvi, 174ⁿ ; last voyage of, xli, xliii, xlv, lxvii, lxviii, 180ⁿ ; mentioned, xxxii, xlii, lxv, 130ⁿ, 175 ; remarks on natives by, xl ; remarks on trading policy by, xxiii-iv, xxxiii, civ ; York Fort received from French by, xiv, xxi, xxxv
- Knives, 310
- LA FRANCE, JOSEPH, lxxiv, lxxv, 237-8, 309ⁿ
- Lahontan, Baron, 65
- Lake, Sir Atwill, xviii, 1, 198ⁿ
- Lake, Sir Bibye, approached by Dobbs, xlvi, xlvi ; as Governor, xiv, xv, xvii, xx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv, lxvi, lxxi, civ, 1, 181ⁿ, 328, 330 ; career of, xv ; estates of, xviii ; gratuities to, xv, xvi, xix ; investments by, xix ; money needs of, xviii ; services to H.B.C. by, xv, xvi ; sons of, 1 ; stock transactions of, xvii-viii
- Lake, Bibye, 1, 198ⁿ
- Lake, Thomas, xv
- Lake of the Woods, xlvi, 69ⁿ
- Lamps, 166
- Lancaster, xcvi

- Lanrick, John, 332
 La Reine, Fort, 69n
 La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, 93
 La Vérendrye, Pierre Gaultier de
 Varennes, Sieur de, xlvi, xvii, 69n,
 114n, 311n
 Law, Richard, xxiv
 Leaf River, 68n
 Leather, 261
 Leeds, xcvi
 Letters of Marque, lxxxiv-v
 Lice, 108-9
 Light, Alexander, 119n
 Liquorice, Spanish, 125n
 Lime, 259, 261, 264, 265
 Little Playgreen Lake, 68n
 Little Sea, *see* Winnipeg, Lake
 Liverpool, xcv, xcvi
 London, xiv, xvi, xx, xlvi, lxxvii, xcvi
 Longland (Longden), John, xcvi
 Lookout Point, 132n, 174n
 Loons, 125, 126
 Louis XIV, King, xiv
 Luittit, James, xxxviii
 Luittit, John, xxxviii
 Lynx, *see* Cats
- MACCLESFIELD, xcvi
 Macklish, Thomas, xiii, xxii, xxiii, xxvii,
 xxxv, xlvi, xliv, 99n, 318
 Magpies, 125
 Maize, 265n
 Manchester, xcvi
 Manson, James, xxxviii, 301
 Map, 237n, 309n
 Marble Island, lxxxiv
 Marten, Humphrey, 325
 Marten Skins, 164, 231n, 232, 238
 Martens, 164, 165, 181
 Maryland, 266n
 Maurepas, Fort, 69n
 Meat, curing of, 155-6
 Medicines, 225
 Merle, John Anthony, I, 198n
 Merry, Cape, lxiii, lxxii, 174
 Merry, Captain John, xix, 174n
 Merry, John (junior), I, 198n
 Merry, Robert, 198n
 Merthy (Burbot), 168, 169
 Metaekse (Meatclf), John, 245, 250
- Mexico, Gulf of, 114n
 Mice, 150, 164
 Michilimackinac, lxxiv
 Middle Temple, xv
 Middleton, Christopher, accusations and
 charges by Dobbs against, lii, liv, lviii,
 lx, lxi, lxii-iii, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxv-vi,
 xciii; assistance afforded to, li, lii;
 biography of, 325-34; commands
 Shark, lxxx, 203n; cousin of W. Moor,
 333, 334; his contempt of his own
 officers, lxi; his expedition (1741-42),
 I, lii-lxii, lxxiii, lxxviii, 180n; his re-
 lations with Dobbs, xlvi, lv; his re-
 lations with H.B.C., I, li, lv, lxxix; his re-
 lations with Isham, liv, lviii, lix-
 lxii, lxiv, lxxiii, lxxx, xcix, 319, 331,
 335; H.B.C. trade and, li, liv, lvi, lxi,
 lxii; justification of, lxii, lxxiii, lxxviii,
 lxxxi, xc; mentioned, xci, xcvi, civ,
 201; observations and "Effects of
 Cold" by, lx, 70, 72-4, 75; quoted,
 ciii; resigns from H.B.C., I, lv; result
 of his 1741-42 expedition, lxxii; win-
 ters in Churchill R., lii-iii, lxii; *see*
 also Dobbs, Arthur
- Minago River, 68n
 Mincyne (Myncin), Richard, xxxixn
 Minerals, *see* Mines
 Mines, Mining, xl, xliv, lxxii, 134; *see*
 also Copper, Coppermines
 Mirond Lake, 68n
 Mississippi River, lxxiv, 314n
 Missouri River, xlvi, 114n, 311n
 Mistake Bay, 181
 Mistassini, Lake, 315n
 Molasses, lxxxviii, 307, 308
 Montagu (Montague) House, letters
 addressed from, 262, 263, 264, 268, 272,
 276, 277, 279, 281, 283, 284, 287, 291,
 298; mentioned, lxxxvii, 256, 290;
 so called, 285, 335, 337
 Montagu (Montague), John, second
 Duke of, 256n, 335
 Montreal, xxiv, civ, 65n
 Moode, Robert, xxxviii
 Moor, William, as captain of *Dobbs*,
 lxxvii, 204n, 243, 245; as H.B.C.
 servant, lxxviii; biography of, 334-6;
 cousin of Middleton, 333, 334; his

- Moor, William—*cont.*
 relations with Isham, lxxxviii, 205n, 243 et seq.; his relations with Smith, 266–71, 273 et seq.; his voyage (1746–47), 241–308; instructions to, 292; letters from, 245 et seq.; letters to, 258n, 261 et seq.; mentioned, 203, 211n, 246, 253; reconciled to Smith, 285
- Moose, 150, 154, 155
- Moose Factory, xiv, xxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xlvi, lxxii, 215n, 218n, 231n, 315, 317, 327
- Moose Lake, 68n
- Moose River, xxii, xl, xlvi, 208n, 315
- Moose Skins, 89, 111
- Morrice, Francis, 280n
- Mosquito Point, 175
- Mosquitoes, 131, 132
- Moss, 132, 136, 152
- Mossy River, 69n
- Musk-ox, 155
- Muskrat Skins, 167
- Muskrats (*Musquash*), 167, 202
- Musquash*, *see* Ships
- Mussels, 169
- Myatt, Joseph, xxviii, xxix, xxxii
- Myncin, Richard, *see* Mincyne, Richard
- NAMEW LAKE, 68n
- Napper, James, xlviii, xlix, l, lii, lv, lxxviii, 328
- Nelson (Port Nelson) River, Sir T. Button on, 235, 236; climate of, 235–6; discovery on, 209; Indians of, 310; mentioned, lxx, lxxxiv, c, 212, 237n, 244n, 246, 309n; partridges at, 264; suggested settlement at “head of”, 67, 68n, 115, 206, 208, 234; width of mouth of, 69, 236
- Needles, 108
- Neishcook River, 256
- Newcastle-under-Lyme, xviii
- Newfoundland, xiv
- New Mexico, 113n
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 70n
- Newton, John, xxxii, c, ci, 321, 322
- Niagara, Fort, xxiv
- Nichikun Lake, 315n
- North Goose Point, 177
- North West Committee, lxxvii, lxxx, lxxxii, xci, xcii, xciv, 281, 307, 334
- North West Passage, Dobbs’ interest in, xlvi, xlix, lv, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxix, lxxxii, xcii, xciii, 327 et seq.; expeditions from Philadelphia to, ci, 266n; expedition of 1746–47, xc–i, xciv, 320, 334–6, 337; mentioned, 237n; Middleton’s interest in and attempt to find, l, lii, lv, lxii, lxxiii, lxxv, 319, 334; practicability of, xl, xcix; reward for discovery of, lxxvii, lxxviii–ix, lxxxiv, 216n, 244n, 247n, 334; *see also* Discovery Expeditions
- Norton, Richard, xxvii, xxxii, xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvi, l, 132n, 174n, 175n, 336
- Norton’s Cove, 175
- Nottingham, xviii
- OATMEAL, xxxiv, 265n, 275, 279
- Oats, xxxvii, 265
- Ochre, red, 218–19
- Ogle, Governor, 266n
- Oil, 181, 234
- Olson, William, xxxviii
- Ore, 134–5, 218–19
- Orkneys, xxxvii, lxxx, lxxxvii, 203n
- Otter Skins, 231n
- Otters, 165
- Owls, 128
- Oxford Lake, 68n
- Oysters, 169
- PAINT, 169
- Paris, xv
- Parliament, petitions to, lxxvii, lxxx, lxxx, xcv, xcvi–viii
- Parliamentary Committee (1749), xlvn, lxx, xc–ix, c, 199n, 237n, 320–1
- Parliamentary Report (1749), xcvi, civ
- Parry, William Edward, 333
- Partridges, as food, 170; descriptions of, 123–4, 150; for Dobbs and California expedition, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 278, 295, 297, 298, 299; mentioned, 293, 296; numbers killed for food, 200, 201; preyed on by animals, 142
- Pease, xxxvii, 217, 218n, 265, 279
- Pelicans, 124

- Pemmican, 156
 Pensions, lxxxii
 Perch, 168, 169
 Pheasants, 124
 Philadelphia, ci, 266n
 Phosphorus, xxxv
 Pigeons, 125, 128
 Pike, 168, 169
 Pilgrim, Robert, liii, 211n, 258n, 331
 Pine Trees, 137
 Pipes, xxxiv
 Pistol Bay, xl ix, 1
 Pitt, Benjamin, i, 330
 Plants (Herbs, Shrubs), xxxvi, 132-4
 Plums, 133, 275
 Point of Marsh, lxxxvi
 Poplar Trees, 137, 146
 Porcupine Quills, 108, 110, 143
 Porcupines, 143, 201n, 202
 Pork, 169, 170, 253, 254, 259
 Port Nelson River, *see* Nelson River
 Portage de Traite (Frog Portage), 68n
 Portage la Prairie, 69n
 Postlethwayt, Malachy, ciii, civ
 Posts, formation inland of, 67, 113, 115,
 182; defence of, xxiv-v
 Potts, John, xxxviii
 Powder Horns, 108, 117
 Preston, xcvi
 Price, John, 325
 Prince of Wales's Fort, xxxix, xli, 3, 132n,
 173-7, 258n, 309n
Prince Rupert, *see* Ships
 Privateers, 244n
 Privy Council, xcvi
Prosperous, *see* Ships
 QUEBEC, xxiv, civ
 Quequahatches, *see* Wolverenes
 Quills, 135, 136; *see also* Porcupine
 Quills
 Quiquak (Indian), 304
 RABBITS, 128-30, 142, 150, 164, 201, 202
 Radisson, Pierre Esprit, xix
 Rail, 124
 Rainy Lake, xl vii, 69n
 Ranken Inlet, xl ix, 335
 Raspberries, 133
 Red Deer River, 313n
 Red River, xl viii, 69n, 310, 315n
 Repulse Bay, xc, xci, 333, 334
Resolution, *see* Ships
 Rheumatism, 287n
 Rice, 217n
 Rings, xxxiv
 Ripon, xcvi
 Robisons Cully, 248, 254, 305
 Robson, Joseph, ciii, 172n, 173n
 Roes Welcome, xl viii, lxxxiv, 334
 Rouge, Fort, 69n
 Round Point, 174n
 Royal Africa Company, xv, xcvi
 Royal Society, 168n, 327, 328, 332, 333
 Ruhiggan, 77, 81, 108, 132, 155, 156,
 166
 Rumahiggan, 107
 Rupert River, 208n, 315
 Rupert's Land, xxxvii
 SABLE, 231n
 St. Charles, Fort, 69n
 St. Lawrence, River, lxxiv
 St. Pierre, Fort, 69n
 Salmon, 169
 Salt, 170, 293, 296
 Sandflies, 131
 Saskatchewan River (North), xl, 68n, 69n,
 315n
 Saskatchewan River (South), 313n
 Slater, Thomas, xxxviii
 Scroggs, John, xl iii, xl iv, xl v n, lv, lxxviii,
 326
 Scurvy, lvii, lxxxvii, 216, 287n, 292, 295,
 302
 Scurvy Grass, 132
Seahorse, *see* Ships
 Seal Skins, 272
 Seals, 166-7
 Seeds, xxxvi, xxxvii, 225n
 Select Committee (1749), *see* Parliamentary Committee (1749)
 Sergeant, Henry, 86n
 Servants, xiii, xix, xxxviii-ix, lviii, lix,
 233, 234
 Severn, ci, 309n, 315, 316, 317
 Severn River, 234, 323, 324, 325
 Shagamittee, 76, 217
Shark, *see* Ships
 Shepperd, Benjamin, 276n

Ships :

- Albany*, xli, xlv
Argo, 266n
California, aground, 251, 253 ; boatswain of, 280n ; captain of, lxxvii, 203n, 243, 245, 307 ; carpenter of, 254 ; chief mate of, 257 ; clerk of, lxxxv, lxxxvii, xci, 266n ; complement of, 246, 266 ; in Ten Shilling Creek, 254, 255, 257 ; letters from, 250, 299, 302, 304 ; log of, 243n, 274n, 278n, 280n, 285n, 287n, 307n, 337 ; mentioned, 247, 252 ; Parliamentary enquiry (1749) and, xcix ; preparing to sail from Hayes R., 306-8 ; surgeon of, 286, 287 ; tonnage of, lxxvii, 334 ; voyage of (1746-47), lxxix, lxxx, lxxxiii, lxxxix, xciii, ci, 203n, 214n, 320, 333, 334-6, 337
Churchill, xlvi, 1, lxxii, 242, 246, 318, 328, 336, 337
Discovery, 1, lii, lvi, lxxviii, 319, 331, 334
Discovery (H.B.C.), xli, xlv
Dobbs-Galley, aground, 251, 252 ; at York Fort (Hayes R.), 244n ; captain of, lxxvii, 204n, 242-3, 245 ; carpenter of, 254 ; complement of, 246, 266 ; council aboard, 245 ; in Ten Shilling Creek, 254, 255 ; letters addressed from, 245, 256, 259, 302, 303, 306 ; long boat of, 305n ; mentioned, 287 ; Parliamentary enquiry (1749) and, xcix ; pinnace of, 245, 253 ; preparing to sail from Hayes R., 306-8 ; surgeon of, 215n, 293 ; tockies for crew of, 263 ; tonnage of, lxxvii, 334 ; voyage (1746-47) of, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxiii, lxxxix, xciii, ci, 197, 199, 203n, 214n, 320, 333, 334-6, 337
Furnace, 1, lii, 319, 331, 338
Hannah, 326
Hudson's Bay (frigate), xlix, 327
Hudson's Bay (pink), 328, 329, 330, 334, 338
King George, 325
Mary, 318, 334
Musquash, xlvi, 328
Prince Rupert, 203n, 320, 322, 323, 324, 337

Ships—cont.

- Prosperous*, xlvi
Resolution, 305n
Seahorse, lxxii, 327, 328, 336, 337
Shark, 203n, 333, 335
Success, xlvi
Whale, 242n
Whalebone, xlvi, 326
Shoes, 110, 117, 272
Shot, 173, 264, 265, 271 ; stone, 230
Shrewsbury, xcvi
Shrimps (Srimbs), 169
Shrubs, *see* Plants
Simpson, George, xxxviii
Sinclair, George, 211n
Sir Bibby Island, 181
Skrimshire, Ann, 318
Skrimshire, Samuel, lxxx, 247, 261, 262, 270, 271
Skunk (Sculk), 142, 150, 166
Slave River, 315n
Sleds, 137, 260, 268, 271, 272
Sleeves, 110
Slood River, xlvi
Smelt, 169
Smith, Francis, as captain of *California*, lxxvii, 203n, 243, 245, 307 ; as H.B.C. servant, lxxviii ; biography of, 336-8 ; character of, lxxiv ; his clerk, 274, 277, 278, 301 ; his relations with Isham, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, 203n, 255, 265, 280 et seq., 335 ; his relations with Moor, lxxxvii, 266-71, 273 et seq. ; his voyage of 1746-47, 241-308 ; letters from, 245 et seq. ; letters to, 262 et seq. ; log of, 265n ; mentioned, 204, 253, 254, 259 ; reconciled to Moor, 285 ; wife (Kitty) of, lxxxvii, 253, 254, 279, 280, 281, 289
Snakes, 130
Snares, *see* Traps
Snowshoes, 80, 108, 137-8, 259, 260, 261, 262, 276, 291, 292, 312
Snuff, 125n
Socks, 110
South Sea Bubble, xv, xvi, xvii
South Sea Company, xlvi
South Sea Stock, xviii, xix
Southern Sea, Passage to, *see* North West Passage

- Spain, 204
 Spaniards, 113, 114, 311n
 Spence, George, xxiiin
 Spruce Trees, 146
 Spurle (Spurrell), John, xxxviii
 Spurrell, George, 318, 320, 322, 336, 337
 Spurrell, Joseph, 325
 Squirrels, flying, 130; ground, 150–1
 Staunton, Richard, xlvi, xlvi, 338
 Stewart, William, xxvi, xl, 311n
 Stockings, 110, 111, 117
 Stockport, xcvi
 Stoves, 172
 Strand, The, 168n
 Strawberries, 133
 Sturgeon, 168
 Sturgeon-weir River, 68n
Success, see Ships
 Sucker (Carp), 168n
 Sugar, 224n
 Sun, 72–3
 Superior, Lake, xvii
 Swaine, Charles, 266n
 Swallows, 128
 Swans, 127
 Sweating House, 96–7, 217
- TEA, 307
 Teach (Thatch), Edward, 117
 Teal, 126
 Telescopes, 70
 Tench, 168, 169
 Ten Shilling Creek, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, 210,
 211, 251, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 278,
 285, 289, 290–1, 292, 302, 335, 337
 Tents, log, lxxxvii, 90–1, 214n, 254;
 skin, 88, 214, 260, 300
 Thompson, Edward, xxxvii, 215, 245,
 249, 293, 294, 302; biography of,
 337–8
 Thorpe, Thomas, 1
 Tickomeg (Gwyniad), 168n, 169
 Time, 75–8
 Tobacco, xx, xxvii, lxx, 86, 133, 237,
 310, 313
 Tockies, lxxxvii, 116, 212, 261, 262, 263,
 302, 303
 Tongues, 297, 298
 Touchwood, 136
 Toys, xxxiv
- Trade, Standard of, lxxiv, 231, 237
 Trade and Plantations, Commissioners
 for, xlvii
 Trading Goods, etc., xx, xxii, xxxiv, 88,
 225n
 Transport by dogs, 164; *see also Indian(s), transport*
 Traps, 141, 142, 153, 157–64
 Treaty, of Paris (1763), civ; of Ryswick
 (1697), xivn; of Utrecht (1713), xiv,
 xv, xxi, xxii, civ
 Trees, 136–7
 Trout, 168, 169
 Trout Lake, 68n
 Turnips, xxxvii, 217, 218n, 234n
 Turpentine, 140
 Twelve Mile Island, 279–80
 Twine, 257
- VENISON, 170, 284, 297, 298, 299, 300,
 301; *see also Deer Meat*
- Virtie, John, xxxviii
 Vocabularies, *see Indian(s), vocabularies*
- WAGER, SIR CHARLES, xvii, 1, lxxiv
 Wager Inlet (River), lxii, xc, 182, 247,
 332, 335
 Wages, xiii, xxxiii, 221
 Wakefield, xcvi
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 1, xcvi
 Wards Mount, 174
 Wars, xiv, xlv, lxxxii, 181n, 204n, 242n,
 247n
 Water, 171, 176
 West, River of the, 114n
 Westall, Jeremiah, 245, 249
 Western Sea, Search for, xlvi, 69n, 113n,
 114n
Whale, see Ships
Whalebone, see Ships
 Whalebone, 1, 181, 234
 Whale Cove, 175, 181, 234
 Whale Fishery (Whaling), xl, xliv, xlv,
 xlvi, 180n
 Whale Oil, xlvi, 1
 Whale Point, 175
 Whale River, 315
 Whales, xlvi, 166
 Wheat, 265n
 White, Richard, xxix, xxxvii

White, Thomas, xxxix, liii, lxiii, lxxx, xciv, 247
 Whitehaven, xcviii
 Wigan, xcvi
 Willocks, 125, 126
 Willows, 135, 137, 146
 Wiltshire, Thomas, 247
 Wine, 69, 173
 Wing, Moses, 285, 286, 287n, 288, 289, 290, 303
 Winnipeg, Lake (Christianaux ; Little Sea), xlvii, 68n, 69n, 112, 310n, 314n, 315n
 Winnipegosis, Lake, 69n
 Winter, Capt. James, 1, 198n
 Winter Hall (House), 263, 264, 271, 275, 277, 278, 280, 286, 296
 Wintering Creek, *see* Ten Shilling Creek
 Wishakapucka, 134, 216, 217
 Wissler, Dr. C., 313n
 Wolverenes (Quequahatches, Quiquahatches etc.), 101, 140-1, 142, 144, 158, 181, 202
 Wolverhampton, xcvi
 Wolves, xxxv, 140-1, 158, 181, 202
 Wood, for fires, 171
 Woodpeckers, 127
 Woodrunners, 99
 World, Observations on, 65

YARMOUTH, lxxx, xcvi

York Factory, accountant at, 114n ; blacksmiths at, 276n ; bricklayer at, 256n ; carpenter at, 248n ; chief at, xxxiii, lxxx, c, 115n ; defences at, xxiv ; description of, xxi, 172 ; *Dobbs and California* at, lxxxiii, lxxxv, lxxxvi, 199-200, 203, 215n, 228-30 ; gardens at, 218n ; first white woman at, 337 ; A. Graham at, 309n ; hinterland of, cii ; Indians trading at, xxvii, 5n, 68n, 310, 311, 313, 315, 316, 317 ; J. Isham at, xiii, xxxv, xxxviii, xxxix, xlvi, liii, lxiv, lxxx, lxxxiv, c, ci, 132n, 198n, 241, 243n, 263, 307 ; journal of, 99n, 205n, 241-308, 253n, 258n ; journey from, 311n, 312n ; J. Knight at, xxii, xxxv ; J. Knight takes over from French, xiv, xxi, civ ; J. La France at, lxxiv, 237n, 238 ; letters sent from, 243, 245, 258, 260, 261, 262, 265, 268, 269, 273, 276, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 293, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303 ; mentioned, xl, xlii, xlix, lxxxii, xc, 113, 122, 123, 126, 223n, 302 ; minerals at, 219 ; re-building of, xxi, xxxv-vi ; routes to, 68, 68n ; second-in-charge at, 247n ; steward at, 301n ; surgeon at, 243n ; trade of, xlvi, lxiii, lxxv, c, 115, 207, 208, 231n, 238 ; trade policy at, xxxix, xlvi, cii ; T. White at, xxxix, liii, 247n

THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

Patron :
HIS MAJESTY THE KING

Executive Committee :
SIR CAMPBELL STUART, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., LL.D. (*Chairman*)
THE RIGHT HON. LORD MACMILLAN, G.C.V.O.
SIR ALEXANDER R. MURRAY, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.
SIR EDWARD R. PEACOCK, G.C.V.O.

Honorary Secretary :
R. A. REYNOLDS, T.D., M.A.

General Editor :
E. E. RICH, M.A.

Assistant Editor :
MISS A. M. JOHNSON

All communications should be addressed to

The Hon. Secretary
THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY
Beaver House
Great Trinity Lane, London, E.C. 4

LIST OF MEMBERS

- ALANBROOKE, Field-Marshal The Viscount, K.G., G.C.B., O.M., D.S.O., Hartley Wintney, Hants., England
- ALDRIDGE, The Hon. Mrs. EDITH MARY PALMER, Lyndhurst, Hants., England
- ALEXANDER OF TUNIS, Field-Marshal The Viscount, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.S.I., D.S.O., M.C., Ottawa
- ALLEN, E. W., Seattle, Washington
- ALLIGOOD, SYLVESTER, Wisconsin
- ALTON, J. A., M.B., Lamont, Alberta
- ANDERSON, GEORGE, Winnipeg
- ANDERSON, H. H. C., Vancouver, B.C.
- ANDERSON, The Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., London, England
- ANDREWS, C. L., Eugene, Oregon
- APPLETON, FRANKLIN F., Toronto
- ARCHIBALD, Dr. E. S., Ottawa
- ASHTON, HENRY R., New York
- ATKINS, J. C., Winnipeg
- BABCOCK, WILLOUGHBY M., Minneapolis, Minnesota
- BAKER, J. O., M.D., Edmonton, Alberta
- BAMBER, Mrs. GWYNNEED M., Lyminster, Hants, England
- BANBURY, P., Winnipeg
- BANKS, Dr. H., Aberdare, Wales
- BARKER, Dr. BURT BROWN, Portland, Oregon
- BARTLEMAN, JOHN, Edmonton, Alberta
- BATES, D. H., Portland, Oregon
- BATT, F. RALEIGH, LL.M., Manchester, England
- BAUMGARTNER, MISS T., Salem, Oregon
- BAXTER, A. BEVERLEY, London, England
- BAYLIS, F. S., Beckenham, England
- BENDER, Dr. WEBSTER, Ebenezer, New York
- BENNETT, E. JAMES, Toronto
- BERLINER, HAROLD B., London, England
- BESANT, ARTHUR DIGBY, London, England
- BINFORD, P. A., Portland, Oregon
- BIRCH, J. P., London, England
- BIRD, J. R., Winnipeg
- BISHOP, CLARENCE M., Portland, Oregon
- BLACKHALL, JOHN, Portage la Loche, Saskatchewan
- BLADINE, PHILIP N., McMinnville, Oregon
- BLAKE, ANSON S., Richmond, California
- BOURNE, Mrs. E. N., Surbiton, Surrey, England
- BOWMAN, Mrs. ARTHUR, Portland, Oregon
- BRIGHT, ARTHUR L., Spokane, Washington
- BRONSON, FREDERIC E., Ottawa
- BROWN, Sir S. H., London, England
- BUCKHAM, A. F., Ottawa
- BURFORD, W. T., Ottawa
- BURGESSE, J. A., Arvida, Quebec
- BURNHAM, HOWARD J., Vancouver, Washington
- BURNS, THOMAS H., Dingwall, Scotland
- BUTLER, J. DEAN, Oregon City, Oregon
- CABELL, The Hon. HENRY F., Portland, Oregon
- CALDWELL, WILLIAM C., Baltimore, Maryland
- CAMROSE, The Rt. Hon. The Viscount, London, England
- CAMSELL, DR. CHARLES, C.M.G., LL.D., Ottawa
- CARTER, D. C., Orillia, Ontario

LIST OF MEMBERS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>CHESSIRE, R. H., Winnipeg
 CHESTER, P. A., Winnipeg
 CHURCH, W. E., Portland, Oregon
 CLAPHAM, SIDNEY C., Burgh, Suffolk, England
 CLARK, CARLOS B., Detroit, Michigan
 CLARK, Sir ERNEST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.B.E., Seaton, Devon, England
 CLARKE, Mrs. HENRIETTA F., Bromley, Kent, England
 COBB, BOUGHTON, Long Island, New York
 COLBERT, Miss MILDRED, Portland, Oregon
 COLEMAN, D'A. C., LL.D., D.C.L., Montreal
 COLLINS, G.C.M., Hazelton, British Columbia
 COLLINS, JOHN, Washington
 COLLINS, R., Lachine, Quebec
 COLLYER, F. J., Welwyn, Saskatchewan
 COLTHURST, R. St. JOHN BOWEN, Wakes Colne, Essex, England
 CONGDON, Mrs. DOROTHY H., Duluth, Minnesota
 CONWAY, D. J., Portland, Oregon
 COONAN, CLARENCE, San Francisco
 COOPER, Sir PATRICK ASHLEY, Hexton, England
 COSIER, S. M., Sorrento, B.C.
 COWAN, M., Winnipeg
 COYNE, J. B., Winnipeg
 CROSSLEY, W. S., Winnipeg
 CRUICKSHANK, ROBERT, Winnipeg
 CUTHILL, D. M., Edmonton, Alberta</p> <p>DAETWYLER, A. R., Berne, Switzerland
 DANSON, J. R., Liverpool, England
 DAVIES, DAVID L., Portland, Oregon
 DAVIS, CARL HENRY, M.D., Miami, Florida,
 DAVIS, The Rev. W. L., S.J., Spokane, Washington
 DEDERER, MICHAEL, Seattle, Washington
 DE LONG, MERTON R., Portland, Oregon
 DENNE, M., London, England
 DICKSON, LOVAT, Albury, Surrey
 DIXON, JOHN, North Battleford, Saskatchewan
 DOUGLAS, WILLIAM, Winnipeg
 DOWNES, P. G., Belmont, Mass.
 DRAPER, ARTHUR S., Malton, Yorks, England</p> | <p>ECCLES, DAVID, London, England
 ECCLES, JOHN, Liverpool, England
 EGILSON, KONRAD, Vancouver, B.C.
 ELBANK, The Right Hon. The Viscount, London, England
 EWART, W. H. L., Belmont, Jersey, Channel Islands</p> <p>FAILING, Miss MARY F., Portland, Oregon
 FARRELL, Judge A. GRAY, Toronto
 FAY, C. RYLE, M.A., D.Sc., Cambridge
 FLEIGEL, AUSTIN F., Jr., Portland, Oregon
 FLINT, ALFRED T., Madison, Wisconsin
 FORREST, JOHN, Edmonton, Alberta
 FREEMAN, MILLER, Seattle, Washington
 FULLER, HAROLD E., Welland, Ontario</p> <p>GARDNER, Dr. G., Montreal
 GARNER, Col. A. C., Regina, Saskatchewan
 GERMAN, GORDON T., Sidney, B.C.
 GLASSEY, J. R., Winnipeg
 GLENNIE, WILLIAM, Edmonton, Alberta
 GLOVER, Dr. RICHARD G., Winnipeg
 GOODHART, HOWARD L., New York
 GOODRICH, A. C., Bend, Oregon
 GORDON, R. K., Edmonton, Alberta
 GOURLEY, R. J., Winnipeg
 GRAFE, PAUL, Los Angeles, California
 GRAVEL, C. E., Montreal
 GRAVES, L. O., Seattle, Washington
 GREY, The Earl, Alnwick, Northumberland, England
 GRISWOLD, CHARLES H., Houston, Texas
 GULSRUD, ERNEST G., Spokane, Washington
 GWYNNE, H. A., C.H., Dunmow, Essex, England</p> <p>HAINES, FRANCIS, Lewiston, Idaho
 HALL, D. THORP, Grimsby, Lincolnshire, England
 HARKES, A., Winnipeg
 HARMSWORTH, Sir HAROLD, London, England
 HARRIS, E. VINCENT, London, England
 HARRIS, JOSEPH, Winnipeg
 HARRIS, MORTIMER, London, England</p> |
|---|---|

LIST OF MEMBERS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>HARTLEY, Brig.-Gen. Sir HAROLD, K.C.V.O., C.B.E., M.C., High Wycombe, Bucks, England</p> <p>HARVEY, A. G., Vancouver, B.C.</p> <p>HARVIE, HENRY E., Horley, Surrey, England</p> <p>HASLAM, GREVILLE, B.S., M.A., F.R.G.S., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</p> <p>HAYCOX, ERNEST, Portland, Oregon</p> <p>HAYES, EDMUND, Portland, Oregon</p> <p>HENDERSON, Commdr. R. R. GORE-BROWN, R.N., Wick, Caithness, Scotland</p> <p>HIDDEN, ROBERT A., Vancouver, Wash.</p> <p>HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM IN CANADA (Sir ALEXANDER CLUTTERBUCK, K.C.M.G., M.C.), Ottawa</p> <p>HILDEBRAND, AUGUST, Astoria, Oregon</p> <p>HOOD, Mrs. DORA, Toronto</p> <p>HOWARD, Archbishop E. D., Portland, Oregon</p> <p>HOWELL, R. E., Edmonton, Alberta</p> <p>HUBACHEK, F. B., Glencoe, Illinois</p> <p>HUBBARD, EDWARD L., Boston, Massachusetts</p> <p>HUBBELL, C. S., Seattle, Washington</p> <p>HUNTER, FENLEY, Flushing, New York</p> <p>IIFLIE, The Right Hon. Lord, G.B.E., J.P., London, England</p> <p>INCH, Mrs. UNA B., Medford, Oregon</p> <p>INGRAM, CHARLES H., Tacoma, Washington</p> <p>INGRAMS, E., Purley, Surrey, England</p> <p>IRELAND, WILLARD E., Victoria, B.C.</p> <p>JACKSON, P. L., Portland, Oregon</p> <p>JEFFCOTT, P. R., Ferndale, Washington</p> <p>JEFFRIES, HERBERT, Knowle, Warwickshire, England</p> <p>JENKINS, ALAN C., Vancouver, B.C.</p> <p>JENKINS, HOPKIN, Portland, Oregon</p> <p>JENSEN, GEORGE K., Sacramento, California</p> <p>JOHNSON, CONRAD G., Connersville, Indiana</p> <p>JOHNSON, L. R., Winnipeg</p> <p>JOHNSTON, J. L., Winnipeg</p> <p>JOHNSTON, W. P., Edmonton, Alberta</p> <p>JOLLIFFE, A. W., Mount Royal, P.Q.</p> <p>JONES, GEORGE W., London, England</p> | <p>JONES, O. N., Cleveland, Ohio</p> <p>JONES, Dr. THOMAS, C.H., Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Wales</p> <p>JOSLYN, C. E., Winnipeg</p> <p>KARSLAKE, Mrs. LEONORA A., Silchester, Berks, England</p> <p>KEANE, Lt. Colonel Sir JOHN, Bt., D.S.O., Dublin, Ireland</p> <p>KELLY, DAVID, Hudson, Wisconsin</p> <p>KEMSLY, The Viscount, LL.D., J.P., London, England</p> <p>KESWICK, W. J., London, England</p> <p>KIBBE, L. A., Bellingham, Wash.</p> <p>KING, RALPH H., Portland, Oregon</p> <p>KING, STANLEY, Amherst, Massachusetts</p> <p>KINGERY, Dr. LYLE B., Portland, Oregon</p> <p>KINNES, WALTER, Killin, Perthshire, Scotland</p> <p>KNOX, H. C., Winnipeg</p> <p>KNOX, Colonel T. M., Victoria, B.C.</p> <p>KONANTZ, Mrs. MARGARET, O.B.E., Winnipeg</p> <p>LACERDA, Dr. M. DE, Beira, Portuguese East Africa</p> <p>LAMB, E. A., St. Briavels, Glos., England</p> <p>LAMB, FRANK H., Hoquiam, Washington</p> <p>LAMB, Dr. W. KAYE, Ottawa, Ontario</p> <p>LAMBERT, FRANCIS, Portland, Oregon</p> <p>LANGFORD, Dr. GEO. B., Toronto, Ontario</p> <p>LARSELL, Dr. OLAF, Portland, Oregon</p> <p>LAVOIE, P. E., M.D., Ile à la Crosse, Sask.</p> <p>LEACH, C. H., Harrow, Middlesex, England</p> <p>LEE, F. W., Dewsbury, Yorks, England</p> <p>LEE, WALLACE, Halifax, Yorks, England</p> <p>LESLIE, GARY ANDERSON, Indianapolis, Indiana</p> <p>LINKS, J. G., O.B.E., London, England</p> <p>LISENBY, Col. ALBERT S., Washington</p> <p>LOCKEY, GEORGE, Vancouver, B.C.</p> <p>LOCKHART SMITH, CECIL J., Shanghai</p> <p>LOEB, ALFRED A., Portland, Oregon</p> <p>LOENING, Mrs. SARAH L., Long Island, New York</p> <p>LONG, Mrs. ERNEST E., Outremont, Quebec</p> <p>LONG, F. S., London, England</p> <p>LUXTON, N. K., Banff, Alberta</p> |
|---|--|

LIST OF MEMBERS

- McARTHUR, LEWIS A., Portland, Oregon
 MACCALLUM, F. O., M.D., Twyford,
 Berks., England
 MCCLINTOCK, F. S., Pittsburg, Pennsylvania
 McCLOY, T. R., Ottawa, Ontario
 McCONNELL, J. W., Montreal
 McCOOK, JAMES, London, England
 McDONALD, DR. ELICE, Newark, Delaware
 McEWAN, THOMAS, Winnipeg
 MACFARLANE, DR. R. O., Winnipeg
 MACGREGOR, JOHN M., New York
 MCKELVIE, B. A., Cobble Hill, B.C.
 McKinley, A., Via Fort Vermilion,
 Alberta
 McKINNON, W. G., Edmonton, Alberta
 MACLEHOSE, H. A., Maybole, Ayrshire,
 Scotland
 McLEOD, FRED, Oskelaneo, P.Q.
 MACMILLAN, The Rt. Hon. Lord,
 G.C.V.O., K.C., Ewhurst, Surrey,
 England
 McMURTRY, R. O., M.C. London,
 England
 MACNABB, HUGH, Isle of Arran, Scotland
 MACNAUGHTON, E. B., Portland, Oregon
 McNICHOLS, A. STEWART, Montreal
 MCPHEE, JOHN M., Wrangell, Alaska
 MAGGS, F. B., London, England
 MALONEY, Mrs. ALICE B., Berkeley,
 California
 MANN, HENRY J., Winnipeg
 MARDELL, H. G., Redhill, Surrey,
 England
 MARKS, Sir SIMON, London, England
 MARTIN, DAVID J., Vancouver, B.C.
 MARTIN, Brother DAVID, C.S.C., Port-
 land, Oregon
 MARTIN, F. F., Winnipeg
 MARTIN, Lt. JOHN H., Plainfield, N.J.
 MARTIN, R. C., Ockley, Surrey, England
 MASSEY, The Rt. Hon. VINCENT, C.H.,
 Port Hope, Ontario
 MEADEN, J. T., Toronto
 MEHMEL, PAUL C., Vancouver, B.C.
 MELLEN, WILSON, Montreal
 MENCH, JOHN, New York City
 MENEFE, Mrs. DONALD F., Crescent
 Lake, Oregon
 MEULENGRACHT, JOHN H., Kansas City,
 Missouri
 MILLER, WINLOCK V., Seattle, Wash-
 ton
 MITCHELL, F. J., Winnipeg
 MITCHELL, ROSS, M.D., Winnipeg
 MITCHELL, MRS. W. F., London, Eng-
 land
 MONCKTON, Sir WALTER, K.C.M.G.,
 K.C.V.O., K.C., M.C. London, Eng-
 land
 MOUNT, DR. FRANK R., Portland,
 Oregon
 MUNROE, DAVID, M.A., Ormstown, P.Q.
 MURRAY, Sir ALEXANDER R., K.C.I.E.,
 C.B.E., Hughenden, Bucks, England
 MURRAY, D., Elgin, Morayshire, Scot-
 land
- NADEAU, GABRIEL, Rutland, Massachu-
 setts
 NAPIER, I. P. R., M.C., London,
 England
 NELSON, Sir GEORGE, M.I.E.E., Lon-
 don, England
 NIX, EDWIN C., St. James, Manitoba
 NORTON, FRANK, Worthing, Sussex,
 England
- OBERHOLTZER, ERNEST C., Ranier,
 Minnesota
 O'BRIEN, ROBERT A., London, Eng-
 land
 OLIPHANT, J. ORIN, Lewisburg, Penn-
 sylvania
 OLIRICH, E. L., Minneapolis, Minnesota
 OWEN, Capt. L. T., Llanymynech,
 Montgomery, Wales
- PALMER, LOYD J., Duluth, Minnesota
 PARSONS, RALPH, St. Johns, Newfound-
 land
 PATIENCE, JOHN R., Armstrong, Ontario
 PATTESON, J. C., C.M.G., London,
 England
 PEACOCK, Sir EDWARD R., G.C.V.O.,
 London, England
 PEDERSON, P., Beauval, Saskatchewan
 PEERY, W. K., Vancouver, Washington
 PELTIER, JEROME A., Spokane,
 Washington
 PENDLETON, GEORGE, Edmonton, Al-
 berta

LIST OF MEMBERS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>PERRINE, FRED S., Cloverdale, Oregon
 PERRY, ROY A., Portland, Oregon
 PETERSON, Mrs. ELMER F., Portland, Oregon
 PETRIE, JAMES A., Edinburgh, Scotland
 PETTERSON, Lt.-Col., H. T. F., Great Crosby, Liverpool, England
 PIERCE, J. W., Peterborough, Ontario
 PIPER, CARSON F., Fort William, Ontario
 POLLARD, LANCASTER, Portland, Oregon
 POWERS, ALFRED, Portland, Oregon
 PREISIG, DR. A., Zurich, Switzerland
 PRITCHETT, DR. JOHN PERRY, Flushing, New York
 PROSE, DR. RALPH A., Vancouver, Washington

 RAVENSHEAR, GEORGE, Angmering-on-Sea, Sussex, England
 RAWLINSON, H. E., M.O., Edmonton, Alberta
 REINCKE, H. A., Kingsdown, Kent, England
 REITH, The Right Hon. Lord G.C.V.O., G.B.E., C.B., T.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Beaconsfield, Bucks, England
 REYNOLDS, R. A., T.D., M.A., Purley, Surrey, England
 RICH, E. E., M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., Cambridge, England
 RICHMOND, VOLNEY, Seattle, Washington
 RILEY, C. S., Winnipeg
 ROSE, W. A., Montreal, P.Q.
 ROSS, NORMAN, Winnipeg
 ROSS, R. W., Winnipeg
 RUSSELL, RONALD, Tacoma, Washington

 SAGE, D., Berkeley, California
 SALE, G. S., London, England
 SANDERSON, J. F., Montreal, P.Q.
 SAWYER, ROBERT W., Bend, Oregon
 SCHNACKENBERG, W. C., Jr., Spokane, Washington
 SCOTT, A. W., Winnipeg
 SCOTT, OSBORNE, Sydney, Vancouver Island
 SCOTT, W. H., Edmonton, Alberta
 SEARLE, S. A., Winnipeg
 SELLING, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Portland, Oregon
 SEYMOUR, Mrs. FLORA WARREN, Chicago, Illinois </p> | <p>SHAW, J. N., Edinburgh, Scotland
 SHIELS, ARCHIE W., Bellingham, Washington
 SIBBALD, Mrs. F. A., Fort William, Ontario
 SIDNEY, ALBERT, New York
 SIMPSON, GUY, Castleford, Yorks., England
 SIMPSON, T. B., Winnipeg
 SIMSON, Captain Sir DONALD, K.B.E., Surbiton, Surrey, England
 SKINNER, T. GORDON, London, England
 SMITH, COLIN HUGH, London, England
 SMITH, Mrs. E. H., Boise, Idaho
 SMITH, PRESTON W., Portland, Oregon
 SMITH, WM., Jr., Dundee, Scotland
 SOLIDAY, GEORGE W., Seattle, Washington
 SOMERVILLE, JAMES, London, England
 SPENCER, OMAR C., Portland, Oregon
 SPENCER, O. L., Ganges, Salt Spring Island, B.C.
 STANLEY, GEORGE F. G., D.Phil., Kingston, Ontario
 STARR, C. L., Portland, Oregon
 STEER, GEORGE H., K.C., Edmonton, Alberta
 STEFANSSON, DR. V., New York
 STEPHEN, S., Edmonton, Alberta
 STEVENS, The Hon. J. C., Portland, Oregon
 STEWART, DONALD, Vancouver, Washington
 STEWART, J., Winnipeg
 STEWART, J. McG., K.C., Halifax, Nova Scotia
 STEWART, LEO W., Seattle, Washington
 STOTT, H. B., Shipley, England
 STRAFFORD, The Earl of, London, England
 STRANGE, H. G. L., Winnipeg
 STRATHALLAN, The Viscount, London, England
 STUART, Sir CAMPBELL, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., LL.D., London, England
 STUART, R. R., San Leandro, California
 SULLIVAN, ARTHUR, K.C., Winnipeg
 SWANNELL, FRANK, D.L.S., Victoria, B.C.

 TINTOR, C. M., New York
 TAYLOR, E. P., Toronto, Ontario </p> |
|---|---|

LIST OF MEMBERS

TENNANT, Major JOHN, London, England	WATSON, GEORGE, Montreal
TERNAN, EDWARD P., Dorchester, Massachusetts	WEBSTER, GORDON, English River, Ontario
TESSIER, The Rev. ALBERT, Trois-Rivières, Quebec	WEEMS, F. C., New York City
THAYER, C. S., Vancouver, Washington	WEIGALL, Lt.-Col. Sir ARCHIBALD, Bt., K.C.M.G., J.P., Ascot, Berks, England
THOMPSON, Mrs. G., York, England	WESTON, W. GARFIELD, London, England
THORMAN, GEO. E., St. Thomas, Ontario	WHITFIELD, GEORGE, Haslemere, Surrey, England
TOMLINSON, ROY E., New York	WHITTAKER, D. A., Montreal
TWEEDY, W. R., Summerland, B.C.	WILLIAMS, L. F., Fort Frances, Ontario
TYRRELL, J. B., M.A., LL.D., Toronto	WILSON, J. E. J., Winnipeg
VAIL, HERMAN L., Cleveland, Ohio	WILSON, Col. J. T., Toronto
VAUGHT, L. O., Jacksonville, Illinois	WINCH, Mrs. S. R., Portland, Oregon
VINTON, STALLO, Passaic, New Jersey	WOOD, JOHN J., Edmonton, Alberta
VOGT, ERNEST A., San Francisco, California	WOODS, C. A., Portland, Oregon
VOGT, HANS, Basle, Switzerland	WOODS, J. ELMER, Winnipeg
WALDIE, J. KEMP, Toronto	WRAIGHT, W., Edmonton, Alberta
WALLICK, K. A., Winnipeg	WULSIN, LUCIEN, Jr., Cincinnati, Ohio
WARWICK, W. C., London, England	WULSIN, LUCIEN, Sr., Cincinnati, Ohio
WASHBURN, Dr. A. L., Montreal, P.Q.	ZILKA, HENRY J., Portland, Oregon
WATSON, C. S., Toronto, Ontario	ZILLMER, RAYMOND T., Milwaukee, Wisconsin

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

Aberdeen, Scotland	University of Aberdeen
Aberystwyth, Wales	National Library of Wales
Austin, Texas	Library of the University of Texas
Belfast, Ireland	Clokey, W. F., & Co., Ltd.
"	Queen's University
Berwick-on-Tweed, Scotland	Short, H. O. & Son, Ltd.
Brunswick, Maine	Bowdoin College Library
Calgary, Alberta	The Ranchmen's Club
Cambridge, England	University Library
Canberra, A.C.T.	Commonwealth National Library
Chicago, Illinois	Newberry Library
College, Alaska	Alaska University
Detroit, Michigan	Nash Kelvinator Corp.
Dublin, Eire	Trinity College
Edinburgh, Scotland	Edinburgh Public Libraries
"	His Majesty's General Register House
"	National Library of Scotland
Edmonton, Alberta	Edmonton Journal
Ellensburg, Washington	Central Washington College of Education
Fargo, N. Dakota	Masonic Grand Lodge Library
Lennoxville, Quebec	Bishop's University
Lexington, Kentucky	University of Kentucky Library
Liverpool, England	Liverpool Public Libraries
London, England	Bank of England—Reference Library
"	Beaver Club
"	British Museum
"	Glyn, Mills and Company
"	Guildhall Library
"	Hudson's Bay Company
"	London School of Economics
"	National Trust, Quebec House Committee
"	Public Record Office Library
"	Royal Institution of Great Britain
Los Angeles, California	University of California
Missoula, Montana	Montana State University Library
Montreal, Quebec	Royal Bank of Canada
Northampton, Massachusetts	Smith College Library
Oldham, Lancs., England	Stott, James, Ltd.
Oregon City	Oregon City Library Association
Orono, Maine	University of Maine Library
Ottawa, Ontario	Library of Parliament

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

Ottawa, Ontario	Carleton College
Oxford, England	Bodleian Library
" Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Bureau of Animal Population
Portland, Oregon	Free Library of Philadelphia
"	Oregon Historical Society
" Reading, England	Reed Institute
St. Boniface, Manitoba	University Club
St. Louis, Missouri	University Library
" Salem, Oregon	St. Boniface Historical Society
" Salt Lake City, Utah	Missouri Historical Society
Seattle, Washington	St. Louis University Library
Tacoma, Washington	Oregon State Library
Vancouver, B.C.	Willamette University Library
"	Utah State Historical Society
" Victoria, B.C.	University of Washington Library
Walla Walla, Washington	Tacoma Public Library
Wellington, New Zealand	City Archives
Winnipeg, Manitoba	University of British Columbia
Wolfville, Nova Scotia	The Vancouver Club
	Provincial Library
	Whitman College Library
	General Assembly Library
	Winnipeg Free Press
	Acadia University

AYER

168.6

H89

v.12

